

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

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Art. I. 1. *Du Pape, par le Comte Joseph de Maistre.* Nouvelle edition. Paris, 1841.

On the Pope. By Count Joseph de Maistre.

2. *Les Soirées de St. Petersburg, ou Entretiens sur le gouvernement Temporel de la Providence.* Nouvelle edition. Bruxelles, 1839.

The Evenings of St. Petersburg; or, Conversations on the Temporal Government of Providence. By the same Author.

THE Roman-catholic re-action which is now manifesting itself with a daily growing vigour, is by no means a new phenomenon. It is, indeed, comparatively new in this country, where it became visible only a few years since; but about thirty years ago a metaphysico-political school was formed on the Continent by a few individuals of first-rate talent, in order to bring back mankind in matters of religion to an unconditional submission to the authority of the pope, and in politics to that of the monarch. The chief founders and leaders of this school were the celebrated Abbé de Lamennais, who has since abjured those principles, and ranks now foremost amongst the opponents of Rome and the promoters of the most ultra-democratic principles; the Vicomte de Bonald; and Count de Maistre, whose works are now under consideration. Count J. de Maistre belongs to a distinguished family of Savoy, where he was born, 1753. He was, before the French revolution, senator in his country, and followed, afterwards, to Sardinia his monarch, driven from his continental states by the French. He remained at St. Petersburg, as an envoy of his king, from 1804 to 1817, and was afterwards a minister of state at Turin, where he died in 1821. He was a deeply learned man, possessing a thorough knowledge of classical literature, as well as of that of the principal countries of Europe;

he was well versed in the writings of the ancient fathers, ecclesiastical history, and the controversial works of Roman catholics as well as of protestants. He appears to have been acquainted with the principal authors of this country, particularly those who wrote on political and religious subjects, and to have carefully followed all the parliamentary debates which related to the Roman-catholic question. His long residence at St. Petersburg gave him an opportunity of acquiring the Russian and the old Slavonic, which is the sacred and liturgic language of all the Slavonian nations who adhere to the Eastern church. Such information, of which few writers may boast, was accompanied by first-rate talent as a writer. His style is animated, energetic, and impressive. His language is beautiful and correct. Nothing can be more masterly than the manner in which he handles every subject which he undertakes, either to attack or to defend. He pours out the treasures of his erudition in the manner most appropriate to the object of discussion, always bearing on the same point, and never straying from it. He is never scurrilous or abusive, but addresses his adversaries in courteous and winning language. His intimate acquaintance with the writings of his opponents often enables him to combat their principles with passages extracted from their own works; and, indeed, he acknowledges that his favourite method is to combat with arms carried off from the enemy's camp. Whenever he despairs to convince by argument, he endeavours to win, by addressing the passions and prejudices of whole classes, and no one acquainted with human nature can doubt that this is often more successful than the most logical argumentation. He also seems to be perfectly sincere in his opinions; and, indeed, it is generally acknowledged that his personal character was very respectable.* It is no wonder that the works of such a man have produced considerable effect, and created a kind of school. They have found warm admirers and zealous partisans in France amongst the ultra-royalist party, and religious Roman-catholic associations in that country, as well as in Belgium, have zealously promoted their circulation. They are well known in this country amongst those who are acquainted with French literature, and particularly amongst the higher classes.

Count de Maistre deserves the thanks of every Christian, to whatever denomination he may belong, for the powerful and effective manner in which he combats the mischievous doctrines of Voltaire and other infidels, miscalled the philosophers of the

* He must not be confounded with his brother, Count Xavier de Maistre, a General Officer in the Russian service, and well known in French literature by his witty essay, *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, and his charming tales, *Le Lepreu d'Aoste*, *Le Prisonnier de Caucase*, &c.

eighteenth century. But unfortunately he labours at the same time with all his might to support those errors and abuses with which the ignorance of the middle ages has infected the church of Rome, and which have given a free scope to the assaults of that very school which he assails. The religious and political system of Count de Maistre reposes on the doctrine, that man, being degraded by original sin, his life is destined to expiate that sin, but that the sufferings consequent on this state of things may be removed, or at least mitigated, by prayer and the supererogatory merits of the pious; that men, being fundamentally corrupt, would not employ their time for this end, and that governments, therefore, which are all from God, must be severe and absolute, they being infallible, and their will consequently law; their authority may be limited only by that of the pope, who may act as a judge between the governments and the governed, being the superior of sovereigns as well as of nations. This exposition of the true principles of the papal system is very important, as it sets entirely aside the pretensions of Romanist writers, that their church is much more favourable to political liberty than the doctrines of the Reformation; pretensions which, in spite of their absurdity, have acquired, by the political complications of this country, such a degree of plausibility, that many sincere protestants labour under the delusion. One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the works of Count de Maistre, and which proves his extraordinary perspicuity, is, that as early as 1817 he predicted that movement towards Rome which is now agitating the Anglican church under the name of Puseyism.

He begins his work on the pope, written in 1817, by endeavouring to establish, as the fundamental dogma, and the corner stone of ecclesiastical polity, the infallibility of that ecclesiastic. The arguments which he employs for that purpose are of an original description. He says—

‘The infallibility in the spiritual order, and the sovereignty in the temporal one, are two words perfectly synonymous. Both these words express that high power which rules all others, and from which all others are derived, which governs and is not governed, which judges and is not judged.

‘It is very important to remark that when we say, *that the church is infallible*, we do not claim for her any peculiar privileges, we only claim that she should enjoy a right common to every possible sovereignty, all of which necessarily act as if they were infallible; because every government is absolute, and from the moment when it becomes possible to resist it, under the pretence of error or injustice, it ceases to exist. . . .

‘It is no less evident that in the judicial order, which is but a part

of the government, it is absolutely necessary to arrive at a power, which judges and is not judged, precisely because it pronounces in the name of the Supreme Power, of which it is deemed to be the representative. Give to that high judicial power such a name or form as you like, it will be always necessary that there should be such a one, to whom it will be impossible to say, *You have erred*. . . .

‘ Now, if there is something evident, for reason as well as for faith, it is that the church universal is a monarchy. The idea of the *universality* alone supposes that form of government, of which the absolute necessity is based on two reasons; the number of its subjects, and the geographical extent of the empire. . . .

‘ Bellarmin understands it so; and he admits, with perfect candour, that a limited monarchical government is better than a pure monarchy.* It may be remarked that the monarchical form has never been contested or disparaged, except by those whom it restrained.

‘ In the sixteenth century, the revolted ascribed the sovereignty to the *church*,—i. e., to the people. The eighteenth did nothing but transfer those maxims to politics; it is the same system, the same theory, even in its last consequences. What difference is there between *the church of God, conducted only by his word, and the great republic one and indivisible, governed only by the laws and the deputies of the sovereign people?* None! It is the same folly, having only changed in time and name.

‘ What is a republic as soon as it exceeds certain dimensions? It is a country more or less large, commanded by a number of men, who call themselves the *Republic*. But the government is always one, and there is not and cannot be a disseminated republic. Thus, in the times of the Roman republic, the republican sovereignty was in the *forum*; and the countries subject to it, that is to say, about two-thirds of the known world were a monarchy of which the *forum* was the absolute and pitiless sovereign.

‘ If you take away that ruling state, there will not remain any bond or common government, and all unity disappears.

‘ It is, therefore, very improperly that the presbyterian churches have pretended to induce us, by dint of speaking, to admit as a possible supposition, the republican form which does by no means belong to them, except in a divided and particular sense, that is to say, that every country has its own church, which is republican; but there is not and cannot be a Christian republican church; so that the presbyterian form effaces the article of the symbol which the ministers of that creed are obliged to pronounce at least every Sunday—*I believe in the church, one, holy, universal, and apostolic*. Because, as soon as there is no longer either a centre or common government, there can be no unity, and consequently no *church universal* (or catholic), since there is no particular church, which has, in admitting that supposition, *the constitutional means* to know whether she has a community of faith with other churches.

* Bellarmin, de Summo Pontifice, cap. iii.

‘To maintain that a number of independent churches form a *one and universal church*, is the same as to maintain, in other terms, that the political governments of Europe form only a single government *one and universal*. These two ideas are identical, and there is no means to quibble about it.

‘If somebody had proposed a *kingdom of France without a King of France, an empire of Russia without an Emperor of Russia, &c.*, it would be justly believed that he had lost his wits; it would be, however, strictly the same idea as that of a *universal church without a chief*.

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‘The monarchical form being once established, infallibility is only the necessary consequence of the *supremacy*, or rather, it is absolutely the same thing under two different names. But although this identity is evident, people never did and never wish to see that the whole question depends on that truth; and this truth, depending itself on the very nature of things, needs not at all the support of theology, so that, in speaking of unity, error, if it was even possible, could not be opposed to the sovereign pontiff, as it (error) cannot be opposed to the temporal sovereigns, who have never pretended to be infallible. In fact, it is the same thing in practice, whether one is not subject to error, or whether it is impossible to accuse him of it. Thus should it even be agreed that no divine promise was given to the pope, he would be no less infallible, or deemed to be such, as the last tribunal; because every judgment from which there is no appeal, is and must be considered just, in every human association, under every imaginable form of government; and every true statesman will understand me, when I say, that it matters not only to know whether the sovereign pontiff is, but whether he must be infallible.’

This is certainly a novel and original mode of proving the infallibility of the pope, and the arguments employed for that purpose by the author are undoubtedly logical, but based entirely upon false premises. It is, indeed, not necessary to be a great statesman, in order to know that no political community can exist without possessing a sovereign—that is to say, an authority somewhere vested and specified in some manner; but in itself, absolute and uncontrolled. It is the same principle which rules Persia and the United States, except that it is exercised by the Shah at Teheran, and by the Congress at Washington; and the only difference between those governments lies in the manner in which the *sovereign*, or the supreme, absolute, and uncontrolled power, is established, distributed, and executed. But every one who is a little conversant with the principles of political philosophy knows likewise that, the reason wherefore a community submits to such an authority is inevitable necessity, as there are no other means of repressing violence and securing the enjoyment of property and other rights to all the members of that

community. In a word, the foundation of such an authority is *expediency*. The same case is in the judicial authority, judging without appeal, as the risk of having sometimes an unjust verdict presents much less danger than the certainty of having none at all which can be executed. It is the same principle of expediency which regulates the laws of *prescription*, by which the rights of individuals are sometimes sacrificed for the general security of property. But we think it a very startling proposition to apply this principle as the means of testing the truths most important to mankind. We admit that it is possible, and even necessary to mankind, to say, in many cases, I submit to this and that, because it is expedient to do so, but we cannot conceive in what case a man can conscientiously say, 'I believe it, because it is expedient to believe,' unless religion becomes a matter of mere form. We also conceive that such a man as Voltaire could say—

'Et si Dieu n'existait pas il faudrait l'inventer.'

and that pagan and infidel politicians might talk about the necessity of a religion in order to keep people in submission to the government. This is very natural in persons who have no religion themselves, but that such a good Roman-catholic writer as Count de Maistre should bring forward such an argument, is indeed very strange; and we may observe that the infallibility of the chief of Mahomedanism might be established upon equally good grounds as that of the pope, by employing the argument used by the author. Yet, although none of the defenders of that school had perhaps ventured to argue in such a daring manner, it is their general practice to establish a paradoxical position, and to deduce from it strictly logical consequences, by which many superficial and imaginative minds are easily led astray. Their opponents ought, therefore, always to attack their premises, which, once overturned, the consequences will of themselves fall to the ground.

As for the unity and universality of the church, there cannot be any other than the community of all true believers. We consider all such as members of the church universal and as our brethren in Christ, whatever denomination they belong to, or whatever imperfections or superstitious practices disfigure and encumber their profession. Our Saviour has expressly declared, that when two or three meet together in his name, he will be with them. This is a positive declaration, and no human authority can overturn it. Our author is perfectly aware of the difficulty, and says of this passage:—

'I ask what do these words signify, and it will be very difficult to induce me to see in them anything else but what I do see, which is

a promise made to men, *that God will lend an ear more particularly merciful to every assembly of men united to pray to him.*—*Du Pape*, p. 13.

Now we protestants do not want anything more than that God should mercifully hear our prayers.

The author expatiates largely on this subject, in order to prove the superiority of the pope over councils. He combats the opinions expressed on this subject by Bossuet, Fleury, and other defenders of the Gallican church, and endeavours to establish his position, by quoting not only Roman-catholic but Greek and protestant divines, who considered the pope as chief of the Roman-catholic church. We shall not enter into all these dissertations, supported by much learning and sophistry, but cannot omit mentioning the manner in which he defends several doctrines and practices of his church, for which there is no foundation whatever in the gospel. The favourite arguments which he employs on such occasions are analogies existing between the above mentioned doctrines and practices and those of several nations of the world. This he acknowledges himself in the following manner:—

‘I confess that I am very fond of practical ideas, and above all, of those striking analogies which are found between the dogmas of Christianity (read Roman catholic) and those universal doctrines which were always professed by mankind, and to which it is impossible to assign any human origin.’—*Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, vol. ii., p. 180.

As an instance of this mode of arguing, we may select his theory of *indulgences*, as one of the most important differences between the Roman-catholic and the protestant church.

‘It is a fact,’ he says, ‘that this is a belief which is as natural to man as sight or breath, and this belief throws the greatest light on the ways of Providence in the government of the moral world. I am now exposing this universal dogma in the doctrine of the church on a point which created so much rumour in the sixteenth century, and which was the first pretext for one of the greatest crimes which men have committed against God. There is not, however, a protestant father who had not granted indulgences in his house, who had not pardoned a child deserving punishment *through the intercession* and *for the merits* of another child with whom he had reason to be satisfied. There is no protestant sovereign who has not granted fifty *indulgences* during his reign, in granting an office, in pardoning or commuting a punishment, &c., *through the merits* of fathers, brothers, sons, relatives, or ancestors. This principle is so general and so natural, that it shows itself at every moment in the slightest acts of human justice. You have laughed many times at the silly balance which Homer has placed in the hands of his Jupiter, apparently to render him ridiculous.

Christianity shews us quite another balance. On one side all the crimes; on the other, all the atonements. In one scale the good works of all men, the blood of martyrs, the sacrifice and tears of innocence accumulate, in order to form a counterpoise to the evil which, since the origin of things, pours its envenomed floods into the other scale. Salvation will overcome in the end, and in order to accelerate that universal work, as well as that expectation for which *the whole creation groaneth*, it is sufficient that man should will. He not only enjoys his own merits, but the atonement of others are imputed to him by the eternal justice, provided he should have willed it, and had rendered himself worthy of that *reversibility*. Our separated brethren have contested this principle, as if the *redemption* which they worship with us was something different from a *great indulgence granted to MANKIND by the INFINITE merits of the greatest innocence voluntarily immolated for us*. There is a very important observation to be made on this point; man who is the son of truth is so thoroughly created for the truth, that he cannot be deceived except by a corruption or misinterpretation of that very truth. They have said: *The God-man has paid for us, consequently we have no need of any other merits*; they ought to have said, *consequently the merits of the innocent may serve the guilty*. As the redemption is nothing else than a *great indulgence*, indulgence in its turn is but a *diminished redemption*. The disproportion is undoubtedly immense; but the principle is the same, and the analogy is incontestable. Is not the *general indulgence* vain for him who wills not to profit by it, and who destroys it, as far as it regards himself, by the bad use which he makes of his liberty? * The same case is with the *particular redemption*. It seems as if error was forewarned against this analogy, by denying the merit of good works; but the frightful grandeur of man is such that the sovereign ruler and the king of virtues *treats him with respect*. † He acts not for him, except with him, he does not force his will; it is necessary that man should, by a humble and courageous co-operation, appropriate to himself that atonement, for otherwise it will remain foreign to him. *He must undoubtedly pray as if he could do nothing, but he must act as if he could do everything*. ‡ Nothing is granted except to his efforts, whether he possesses his own merits, or appropriates to himself those of another.'—*Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, vol. ii., p. 181.

The absurdity of such a doctrine, diametrically opposed to the most positive texts of Scripture, is evident. Either the redemption of mankind by the atonement of our Saviour was complete or it was not. In the first case, what need is there of any diminished redemption? and would not the author, as well as

* Words taken from the poem on Grace, by Louis Racine.

† Wisdom of Solomon, c. xii., v. 18. The text of the vulgate quoted by our author says *cum magna reverentia*, but the English version says, *with great favour*.

‡ Words taken from the poem on Grace, by Louis Racine.

every Roman-catholic Christian, be shocked at the bare idea of the supposition that they asserted the second! Yet we see no medium between them. But the Roman-catholic church avoids such impertinent inferences from its doctrines, and our author says, in speaking of Bible societies :

‘It is not the *reading* but the teaching of the Holy Scriptures that is useful ; the tender dove which swallows and partly tritulates the grain, which she afterwards gives to her young, is the natural image of the church, explaining to the faithful that written word which she has adapted to their understanding. The Holy Scriptures, read without notes and explanation, are a poison.’—*Ibid.*, p. 214.

We have here, indeed, a fine specimen of what the Scriptures may be rendered in our author’s doctrine of Indulgences. Yet *reserve in teaching* has been recommended in our days by members of a *protestant university*.

In his defence of Auricular Confession, our advocate makes not an attempt to support it by the language of St. James, ‘Confess your faults one to another,’ &c., as is usual with writers of his school. He rests his defence entirely on his favourite mode of reasoning by analogy.

‘There is not a dogma in the catholic church,’ he says, ‘not even a general custom belonging to the high discipline, which has not its roots in the extreme depths of human nature, and consequently in some general opinion, more or less altered here and there, but common in its principle to all nations. The development of this principle would furnish a subject for an interesting work. I shall not stray much from my subject by giving a single instance of that marvellous accord; I shall choose confession, only in order to make myself better understood. What may be more natural to man than that movement of heart *which leans to another in order to pour into it a secret?** The unfortunate who is torn by remorse or grief, needs a friend, a confidant, who will listen, console, and sometimes direct him. The stomach which contains poison, and which suffers a spontaneous convulsion in order to eject it, is the natural image of a heart into which crime has poured its poison. It suffers, it is agitated, it contracts itself, until it has met with the ear of friendship, or at least with that of kindness.

‘But when we pass from confidence to confession, and when the avowal is made to authority, universal conscience acknowledges in that spontaneous confession an expiating power and merit of grace. There is but one sentiment on this point, from the mother who interrogates her child about broken crockery, or sweetmeats eaten against her orders, to the judge who interrogates the thief or the murderer.

‘It often happens that the guilty refuses the impunity which he might obtain by silence. A mysterious instinct, even stronger than

* Expression of Bossuet in his funeral sermon for the Queen of England.

that of self-preservation, urges him to seek the punishment which he might have avoided. Even in cases where he has no fear, either of witnesses or torture, he exclaims—Yes, it is I! And I might quote merciful legislations, which entrust in such cases the high magistrates with the power of mitigating punishment without recurring to the sovereign.

‘It is impossible not to acknowledge in the simple avowal of our faults, independently of every supernatural idea, something which is infinitely conducive to establish in man rectitude of heart and simplicity of conduct. Moreover, as every crime is, by its nature, a reason for committing another, every spontaneous avowal is, on the contrary, a reason for amendment; it equally saves the guilty from despair and obduracy, to one or other of which crime cannot abide in man without conducting him.

‘Do you know,’ said Seneca, ‘why we conceal our vices? Because we are plunged in them; as soon as we *confess* them, we shall be cured.’ . . . All the legislators of the world have acknowledged these truths, and have turned them to the profit of humanity.

‘Moses stands at their head. He establishes in his laws an *express confession*, and even a public one.*

‘The ancient legislator in India has said,

‘In proportion as a man who has committed a sin shall truly and voluntarily confess it, so far he is disengaged from that offence, like a snake from a slough. The same ideas have acted everywhere and in all times; confession was found amongst all nations who had received the Eleusinian mysteries. It was found in Peru, amongst the Brahmins—the Turks, in Thibet and Japan.

‘How has Christianity acted on this point, as well as on all others? It has revealed man to himself; it has laid hold of his inclinations, of his universal and eternal beliefs; it has uncovered these antique foundations; it has cleared them from every soil, and has honoured them by a divine stamp; and on these *natural* foundations it has established the *supernatural* theory of penitence and sacramental confession.’—*Du Pape*, p. 297.

We agree with the author in all that he says about the spontaneous avowal of our faults, be they great or small, and that this is the surest road to amendment; we also agree that the feeling of its necessity is deeply implanted by the Almighty in the human heart, and that those superior minds who have appeared amongst many nations having arrived at that truth, by a deep study of the moral nature of man, had made use of it either in their codes of laws, or precepts of morality; but we do not see any reason whatever why Christians should establish a supernatural theory on what has no foundation in the Bible. If we are to believe supernatural things, for which we have not the

* Leviticus, v. 5, 15, and 18; vi. 6. Numbers, v. 6, 7.

authority of revelation, why should we not admit all those superstitions which spring from feelings inherent in the human heart, such as love, fear, hope, &c. We therefore protest against this confusion of divine truth with the offspring of such feelings, which, though sometimes right, cannot, if adopted as a whole, but lead astray those who are not enlightened by the gospel. We also protest against his expression, when he says that Christianity has laid hold of the inclination of man, &c. He ought to have said Roman catholicism, which has based its dogmas and discipline on *the depths of human nature*,—i. e., on the weaknesses inherent in that nature. The same, however, was done by the Egyptian priests, the Persian magi, and other hierarchies, which have enslaved and kept mankind in subjection in different countries and ages. The framers and supporters of these systems not being enlightened by divine revelation, endeavoured to guide the moral life of mankind by means of human agency, supported by the invention of a divine authority. This fraud may plead expediency in its excuse, but what can be urged for those who, having received the revealed truths, prefer to them the vain sophistries of human wisdom. It appears also to us protestants a rather strange theory which places the inspired lawgiver of the Hebrews *at the head of profane* legislators.

But the author out-herods Herod by his arguments in favour of the celibacy of priests, which begins now to be in great favour with certain divines of the Anglican church, to whose edification we recommend what follows:—

‘It is an opinion common to men of all ages, all places, and all religions, *that there is in continence something heavenly, which exalts man, and renders him agreeable to divinity, and that by a natural consequence, every sacerdotal function, every religious act, every sacred ceremony, agrees but little, or does not agree at all, with marriage.*

‘There is no legislation in the world which has not in some manner constrained the priests in this point, and which has not made, even in regard to other men, a more or less severe abstinence, an accompaniment of prayers, sacrifices, and solemn ceremonies.

‘The Hebrew priests could not marry a repudiated woman, and the high priest could not even marry a widow.

‘The Talmud adds, that he could not marry two wives, although polygamy was allowed to the rest of the nation, and all (the priests) were obliged to be pure in order to enter the sanctuary.

‘The Egyptian priests had likewise only one wife. The hierophant of the Greeks was obliged to preserve celibacy and the most rigorous continence.

‘Origen informs us what means were employed by the hierophant in order to enable him to keep his vow, by which antiquity expressly confessed the great importance of continence in the sacerdotal functions, and the weakness of human nature reduced to its own forces.

‘ The priests in Ethiopia, as well as in Egypt, were recluses, and preserved celibacy; and Virgil observes, as shining in the Elysian fields,—

‘ The priests who always preserved chastity.’

‘ The priestesses of Ceres at Athens, where the laws invested them with the highest importance, were chosen by the people, and fed at the public expense. They consecrated their lives to the worship of the goddess, and were obliged to live in the most severe continence.

‘ Such was the opinion of all the known world; and after a lapse of centuries, we find the same ideas in Peru. What price, what honours have not all nations of the world granted to virginity? Although marriage is the natural state of man in general, and even a holy state according to an opinion equally general, there is however a certain respect which is apparent everywhere, for a virgin; she is considered as a superior being; and when she loses that quality, even in a lawful manner, it appears as if she were degrading herself. The affianced women in Greece owed to Diana a sacrifice as an expiation for this kind of profanation. The laws had established at Athens peculiar mysteries relating to that ceremony. The women strictly observed those rites, being afraid of the goddess’s ire, should they neglect their observance.* Virgins consecrated to God are to be found everywhere, and in all epochs of mankind. Is there anything more celebrated in the world than the vestals? *The Roman empire shone with the worship of Vesta, it fell together with it.*

‘ The sacred fire in the temple of Minerva at Athens was preserved as it was at Rome, by virgins. The same vestals were found amongst other nations, as in India and in Peru, and what is very remarkable in this last-named country, the violation of their vow was punished in the very same manner as at Rome,—virginity being considered there as a sacred character equally agreeable to the emperor and to the divinity.

‘ In India, the laws of Menu declare, that all the ceremonies which are prescribed for marriages concern only virgins, those females who do not belong to them being excluded from every legal ceremony.

‘ The voluptuous legislator of Asia has however said—The disciples of Jesus preserved virginity, although it was not commanded *by the desire which they had to please God.* The daughter of Jehosaphat preserved her virginity. God breathed his spirit into her, she believed the words of her Lord and the Scriptures. She was of the number of those who obey. *Whence comes, then, this universal sentiment?*

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‘ I return to the eternal dogma of mankind—*That nothing is more agreeable to the divinity than continence, and that not only every sacerdotal function, but every sacrifice, every prayer, every religious act required preparations, more or less conformable to that virtue.*

* ‘ Every one who is acquainted with the manners of the ancients cannot but marvel whence could be derived a sentiment which had established *such mysteries*, and had the force to persuade men of their importance. It must necessarily have some root, but where is it humanly to be found.’—*Note of the Author.*

‘ Such was the universal opinion of the ancient world. The navigators of the fifteenth century having doubled the universe, if we so may express ourselves, found the same opinions in the new hemisphere. An idea which is common to nations so different from each other, and who never had any point of contact, is it not natural? Does it not necessarily belong to the spiritual essence which constitutes us what we are? Whence could all have taken it, if it were not innate?’

Our limits preclude us from examining in detail the quotations adduced by our author in support of celibacy. We think, however, it might easily be proved, that man, notwithstanding his fallen condition, has preserved in all ages and countries a certain sense of virtue, more or less distinct according to the intellectual cultivation of the nation to which he belonged. The idea of subjecting our passions to the dictates of reason was never lost amongst mankind, except, perhaps, in some few cases of the lowest mental degradation. But although this obligation was never entirely lost sight of, it always manifested itself in a manner more or less perverted. Nothing is perhaps more difficult to the generality of men than to overcome the natural feelings and impulses implanted in their hearts for the continuation of their race. Yet it was precisely that difficulty which excited admiration amongst different nations for those who had vanquished them, and the universal laxity of manners which prevailed in the ancient world, and now prevails amongst nations unenlightened by the gospel, rendering the contrast more striking, increased the intensity of such admiration. We think the universal respect which our author has traced with so much care through all ages and countries, is the natural result of that admiration which mankind entertains for those who overcome difficulties, and is not in any degree the consequence of a peculiar principle as he pretends. We also think that the sanctions given to marriage in the inspired volume, whether by positive injunction or by obvious implication, are of much more value than all those traditions and customs of Jews, Pagans, and Infidels, which he has adduced in support of the celibacy imposed by his church on her ministers.

Count de Maistre has based his arguments on the weakness of our nature, and has consequently relied on reasonings as absurd as those which an eminent clergyman found a few years ago employed for the same purpose in Ireland.* But our author knew perfectly well what he was about, and nothing can give a better idea of his talent and perspicacity, than the manner in which he handles the subject of the churches which are opposed to his own.

* ‘ Ireland ;’ by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, p. 24.

The most important, and, to our readers, the most interesting of his remarks, are those which relate to the established church of our own country.

‘Everything,’ he says, ‘seems to demonstrate that the English nation is destined to begin that great religious movement which is now preparing, and which will become a sacred epoch in the annals of mankind. They possess two inappreciable advantages, of which they are not themselves aware, but which will enable them to arrive at the truth, who were the first to abjure it. These advantages consist in that most fortunate contradiction, which makes their religious system at the same time the most evidently false, and most evidently the nearest to truth. There is no need of research or arguments to know that the Anglican religion is false. It is prejudged by intuition; it is false as the sun is clear; it is quite sufficient to look at it. *The Anglican hierarchy stands isolated in Christendom, consequently it is null.* Nothing sensible can be replied to this simple observation. Its episcopacy is equally rejected by the catholic church, and by the protestant. But when it is neither catholic nor protestant, what is it then? Nothing at all. It is a civil and local establishment, diametrically opposed to the universality, which is the exclusive sign of truth. Either this religion is false, or God became incarnate for the English. There is no medium between these two propositions. Their divines frequently appeal to the establishment, without perceiving that this very word annuls their religion, because it admits novelty and human action, two great anathemas, equally visible, decisive, and indelible. Other divines of the same school, and even prelates, wishing to escape from those anathemas of which they have an involuntary conviction, adopted the strange expedient of maintaining *that they were not protestants*; upon which we may say to them—*Who are you, then? Apostolical,** they say. But this is undoubtedly only to make us laugh, if it were possible to laugh at such serious subjects, and at such estimable men.

‘The Anglican church is moreover the only association in the world which has declared herself to be null and ridiculous by the very act of her constitution. She solemnly proclaimed in this act the Thirty-nine Articles, neither more nor less, absolutely necessary to salvation, and which it is necessary to swear, in order to belong to that church. But one of these articles (the twenty-fifth) solemnly declares that God, in constituting his church, has not left infallibility on the earth, that all

* The author says in another place of the same book, ‘The Anglican church, to the good sense and pride of which, it is equally repugnant to be in pretty bad company, has for some time imagined that she is not *protestant*. Some members of the clergy have openly defended this thesis, and, as by admitting this supposition, they found themselves to be without a name, they said that they were apostolicals. It appears, however, that it is too late for giving to one’s self a name, and Europe is become too impertinent to believe such an ennoblement. The parliament, meanwhile, lets the *apostolicals* call themselves as they please, and ceases not to *protest* that it is *protestant*.’—*Du Pape*, p. 385.

the churches, beginning by that of Rome, have erred; that they have grossly erred in point of *dogma, even in point of morals*; so that none of them professes the right of prescribing a belief, and that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of the Christian. The Anglican church consequently declares to her children, that she has a right to command them, but that they also have a right not to obey her. At the same moment, with the same pen, with the same ink, and on the same paper, she declares the dogma, and declares that she has no right to declare it. I hope that in the interminable catalogue of human follies, this will always hold one of the first places.*

‘After this solemn declaration of the Anglican church, nothing was wanting but the evidence of civil authority, to ratify that judgment, and this is found in the parliamentary debates on the catholic emancipation, in 1805. In one of those noisy meetings, which only serve to prepare a more distant and more happy epoch, a sentence escaped the attorney-general of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, which, as it seems to me, has not been remarked, but which, nevertheless, is one of the most curious things which had been uttered in Europe for a century:—‘*I think*,’ said he, addressing the House of Commons, ‘*that no alternative can exist between keeping the establishment we have, and putting a Roman-catholic establishment in its place.*’†

‘The comment on this inappreciable ingeniousness is very simple. It is as if the attorney-general had said, ‘Our religion is, as you know, only a purely civil establishment, which has no other support than the law of the country and the interest of every individual. Why are we Anglicans? Certainly, not because we are influenced by persuasion, but from fear of losing our goods, honours, and privileges. The *word* faith, having consequently no meaning in our language, and the conscience of the English being catholic, we shall obey it from the moment that it shall not cost us anything. In one instant we shall be all catholics.’

‘But if there is nothing so evidently false as the Anglican system, on the other hand, it does recommend itself to us as being the nearest to the truth. Controlled by three terrible sovereigns, and it is our duty to say, controlled likewise by a superior good sense, the English could, in the sixteenth century, resist to a remarkable point that torrent which was carrying away other nations, so as to preserve several catholic elements. Hence that ambiguous physiognomy which distinguishes the Anglican church, and which so many writers have observed. She is, undoubtedly, not the legitimate spouse, but the mistress of a king; and although evidently the daughter of Calvin, she has not the brazen-faced appearance of her sisters. Raising her head with a majestic air, she utters in a sufficiently distinct manner

* The Article 25 is evidently by mistake quoted for the Article 20. The author is not correct in stating that the articles declare that all churches, beginning by that of Rome, have erred, whilst it is said (Article 19), ‘As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred,’ &c.

† Parliamentary Debates; vol. iv. p. 943. London. 1805.

the names of *fathers, council, and chiefs of the church*; her hand wears the crozier with ease, she seriously speaks of her nobility, and under the mask of an isolated and rebellious mitre, knows how to preserve a certain remainder of ancient grace,—venerable wreck of a dignity which is no longer. O noble English! you formerly were the first enemies of unity; to-day, the honour of bringing it back in Europe devolves upon you. Error raises there its head, only because our two languages (English and French) are enemies. If they become allied on the first of these subjects, nothing will resist them. It matters only to seize the fortunate opportunity which politics present to you at this moment. One single act of justice, and time will do the rest.'—*Du Pape*, pp. 423—428.

This was written in 1817, when few, if any, persons in this country foresaw that 'great movement' which, according to the prediction of the author, 'the English nation is destined to begin,' and which has actually commenced, and is advancing with fearful rapidity.

The political doctrines of popery, as developed in the works under review, deserve particular notice. They constitute a practical refutation of the opinion, that catholicism is more favourable to political liberty than protestantism, or at least, that it is not less so. This opinion, artfully supported by some writers, originated in this country from the unnatural position in which the Roman catholics stood towards the protestants, when the latter, having vanquished the defenders of absolutism, became themselves oppressors of their opponents. This state of things produced its natural results, in rendering the vanquished more liberal than the victors.

We have already quoted the passage of our author, where he complains of the influence which the reformation of the sixteenth century had produced on the political opinions of the eighteenth. He develops his ideas on this subject in a more distinct manner, in the following passage, where he speaks of the influence of learning and free discussion on the state of society:—

'On all parts they (the learned men, *savants*) have usurped an influence without limits; and still, if there is anything certain in this world, it is, according to my opinion, that it belongs not to science to guide men. Nothing that is necessary is entrusted to it; only a madman may believe, that God has charged academies with instructing us what we owe to him. It belongs to prelates, to the noblemen, and to the great officers of the state to be the depositaries of the conservative truths, to teach nations what is good and what is bad, what is true and what is false in the moral and spiritual order. Others have no right to reason upon such matters. They have natural sciences for their amusement. Of what can they complain? He who speaks or writes in order to take a national dogma from a people, ought to be hanged

like a domestic thief. Even Rousseau has admitted it, without thinking of what he asked for himself.* Why was the imprudence committed of granting speech to everybody? 'This is what has lost us.'—*Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, vol. ii., p. 99.

This is indeed a startling commentary on the liberty of the press. But many persons will object that it is nothing more than the personal opinion of the author, not warranted by the doctrines of the Roman-catholic church. But, in the first place, the Roman-catholic writers who have endeavoured to establish political liberty on the doctrines of the Roman-catholic church, as, for instance, the Abbé de Lamennais, were condemned by the pope in the most unqualified manner, whilst all those who have supported despotism by the same doctrines have always been praised and favoured. Protestants may indulge in the wildest theories about the application of religion to politics, without being controlled by any other authority than that of other writers who may choose to refute them; but whenever a Roman-catholic makes such an application, the authority of his church never fails to condemn it. We shall, however, give them another unanswerable proof, that this is a positive doctrine of that church, neither unauthorized nor obsolete, but proclaimed in the most solemn manner by the present pope himself, in his encyclical letter, addressed to the Roman-catholic clergy, and dated the 15th August, 1832.

After many complaints of the evils of the present times, such as the spirit of rebellion, secret societies, contempt for clerical authority, attempts to abolish the celibacy of the priests, and religious indifference, he continues:—

'From this most corrupt source of *indifferentism* flows that absurd and erroneous maxim, or rather, that delirament, that it is necessary to assure and vindicate the *liberty of conscience* for whomsoever it may be. The way to this most pestilential error is prepared by that full and immoderate freedom of opinion which is widely ranging for the ruin of civil and religious society, because several assert, with an extreme impudence, that some good may result from it to religion. But St. Augustinus said, *What gives sooner death to the soul than freedom of error*;† and, indeed, every check which might retain men in the paths of truth being taken off, their nature, inclined to evil, falls into a precipice, and we may say with truth, that the *bottomless pit* is opened, that pit whence St. John saw arising a smoke which darkened the sun, and coming out locusts which devastated the earth. Hence changes of mind, corruption of youth, contempt for the most sacred things and laws spread amongst the people—in a word, the greatest

* Vide Contrat Social.

† St. Augustinus, Epistolar CLXVI.

pestilence to society, because experience shows, since the remotest antiquity, that states which had been flourishing by their riches, power, and glory, perished by that evil alone—the immoderate liberty of opinions, the licence of speech, and love of innovation.

‘To this refers that wicked, detestable, and never sufficiently to be execrated liberty of the book trade, to publish any writing whatever, a liberty which several dare to demand and to promote. We are horror-struck, venerable brethren, considering with what monstrous doctrines, or rather errors, we are beset, and which are spread everywhere by an enormous multitude of books, pamphlets, and works of small volume, but great malice, and whence issues malediction spreading over the face of the earth, which we deplore. There are, however, such—oh, how it grieves us to say!—who have arrived to such a pitch of impudence as strenuously to assert that the deluge of errors pouring from that source is sufficiently compensated by some book which may appear in defence of religion amidst that flood of depravity. It is not permitted, and contrary to every law, to do on purpose a certain and a greater evil, for the hope that some good may result from it. What man in his senses will maintain, that poisons should be allowed to spread, to be publicly sold, to be carried about and even drunk, because they are remedies by which those who use them may escape from death.

‘The discipline of the church, in destroying the pestilence of bad books, was very different since the times of the apostles, of whom we read, that they burnt a great quantity of books. It is sufficient to read the laws enacted on that subject by the fifth council of Lateran, and the ordinance given since that time by Leo the Tenth, our predecessor of happy memory, in order to prevent that which had been wholesomely invented for the increase of faith and the propagation of useful science, from being employed to a contrary object, and causing injury to the faithful.’

Now we ask the defenders of Romanism, who maintain that it is not opposed to political or religious liberty, what is the meaning of the declaration, that ‘*the liberty of conscience*,’—i. e., religious liberty, is an absurd and erroneous maxim, or rather, a *delirament*; that the liberty of the press is a wicked and detestable thing, and which can never be sufficiently execrated; and that the opinion of those who consider the censure under which the press is groaning in despotic countries, as unjust, is false, daring, and injurious to the holy see, which boasts here to have always striven to wrest from the hands of man, and to destroy with fire all the noxious and even suspected books, of which the censure belongs to its ministers. If any Roman catholic denies and abjures such doctrines, and we sincerely hope that there are many who conscientiously do so, we tell him he becomes by this very fact a *protestant*, because, as Count de Maistre has well observed, ‘Whoever protests either against the

whole authority of the pope, or some points of it, becomes a *protestant*. He is either uninformed about the true doctrines of the church of Rome, or he does no longer belong to it, except nominally.' We appeal to his own sound sense, whom are we, who are without, to believe; whether the supreme chief of the church, who makes an official declaration, or a simple member of that church, who relies on no other authority than that of his private judgment,—of that very private judgment, the use of which, in matters of religion, is the constant theme of reproach to us from his party. Now the only difference between us and those Roman catholics who *sincerely* abjure the doctrines contained in the encyclical letter of the pope is, that we go farther in the exercise of that judgment than they go, but there can be no doubt that we both are acting on the same principle. We ask them, moreover, whether they will take on themselves to say that the pope is in error? Now, if this be the case, there is an end of the papal authority; if not, they have acted, in denying the necessity of the censure, and asserting the liberty of the press, '*with an extreme impudence*,' according to the words of that authority, which cannot be wrong. But are not the very same doctrines taught, although in a somewhat disguised manner, by divines who protest against being protestants, although the law of the land considers them as such, and grants them many advantages, solely on account thereof? It is quite possible to write against transubstantiation, and yet to defend some of the worst doctrines of Romanism.

We must add, that the events of these times clearly prove that the pope has much more at heart the maintenance of absolute power in Europe than the preservation of his immediate authority in some provinces, which he seems disposed to offer as a sop to Cerberus, provided he may thereby guard the remainder of his dominions from the progress of liberal views. This we see exemplified in the case of Poland and Spain. When the former country raised the banner of national independence, the Roman-catholic clergy, with a few exceptions, joined in the general movement, and several of them gave splendid proofs of a devoted patriotism. Yet that manifestation was condemned in the most unqualified manner by the present pope in his *breve*, addressed in July, 1832, to the Polish bishops. A few years afterwards, the Emperor of Russia, in whose favour the above-mentioned *breve* was issued, ordered that about four millions inhabiting the Polish provinces incorporated with Russia, who had followed for centuries that branch of the Greek church which had submitted to Rome, should abjure their obedience to the pope, and acknowledge, like the church of Russia, the emperor for their spiritual chief. The bishops were easily gained over to sign a

union with the Russian church, but a great number of the lower clergy, particularly parish priests, refused to subscribe, nobly preferring transportation to Siberia to a betrayal of their conscience. Our own religious convictions are greatly opposed to theirs, yet we cannot but feel the greatest respect for, and bestow the most unreserved praise upon, those high-minded men who preferred to suffer such a penalty rather than deny what they conscientiously believed to be the truth. But what was the conduct of the pope on that occasion? Has he denounced the Emperor of Russia as an oppressor of the church? Has he ordered public prayers to be said throughout Roman-catholic Christendom for the release of those noble martyrs, as he has done for the recovery of the church property confiscated by the Cortes of Spain? No such thing. In an allocution, which he was compelled for decency's sake to publish, he feebly complains of the bishops who had abjured his supremacy, and expresses his hopes that the *magnanimous* Emperor of Russia, the same emperor who had caused the separation, and transported to Siberia the priests who remained faithful to Rome, will set all these matters right. The absurdity of this allocution is too glaring to require any comment.

How different is the conduct of the same pope towards Spain, which has till now preserved intact the Roman-catholic church. Is not Espartero, who regularly attends mass, denounced as sacrilegious by all the adherents of papal authority? and are not public prayers ordered throughout the Roman-catholic world, in order to bring about a change in the present state of things in Spain? The reason of this contradiction is, however, obvious. Spain has adopted liberal institutions, and their indispensable accompaniment, 'the never-to-be-sufficiently execrated liberty of the press.' This will rapidly lead, not only to the religious emancipation of the Peninsula, but will also powerfully act on Italy itself.

The author endeavours to prove, by a great display of historical erudition and much sophistry, that the popes are the natural judges between monarchs and nations, and that the latter should never rise against the most tyrannical sovereigns, but apply to the pope for the redress of their wrongs. He maintains, that such a check to absolute power ought to be preferred by monarchs to that which is imposed upon them by popular constitutions, as it is much less humiliating to be controlled by the pope than by his own subjects, because the popes, in struggling against monarchs, were always acting as the delegates of God.

'Frederic,' says he, 'under the foot of the pope, might have been an object of terror, perhaps of compassion, but never of contempt, no more than David prostrated before the angel who brought him the plagues of the Lord.'—*Du Pape*, p. 335.

In another part of the same work he says,—

‘That it is much better for the monarch to be deposed by the pope, than by his subjects, because the pope, in sacrificing the king, would save the majesty; he would not neglect any personal alleviations which circumstances might permit, but above all, and this deserves some attention, he would fulminate against the project of depriving the whole dynasty, even for *crimes*, and the more so, for the faults of a single head. He would teach the nations ‘*that it is the family which reigns; that the case which has happened is entirely similar to that of an ordinary succession, opened by death or illness; and he would end by proclaiming an anathema against every man who would be daring enough to question the rights of the reigning house.*’—*Ib.*, p. 238.

Does not this passage forcibly remind us of certain doctrines proclaimed not very long ago, that the expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of this country was a national sin?

The doctrines which we have exposed in this article will probably appear to the plain sense of our readers *absurd*, and many of them will perhaps wonder how it is possible that they should find converts? Yet it is an undoubted fact that similar opinions are rapidly gaining ground. We have already expressed our belief that this may be greatly attributed to that weakness of the human mind which is more easily persuaded by the quibbles of casuistry than by the arguments of a straightforward reasoning. We must add, that the doctrines we have referred to, often flatter the passions and interests of individuals and of classes, as an illustration of which, we might adduce our author’s reasoning, page 359, which we should be glad to quote if our space permitted.

Let us now pause for a moment to consider once more how it comes to pass that the reaction of Rome, whether open or disguised, is, notwithstanding the striking absurdity of its pretensions, making rapid strides, and in quarters where, considering the educational advantages possessed, knowledge ought to be general. There is a great deal in the manner of promoting and defending certain doctrines to decide, at least for a time, their success or *failure*; and this appears to be the main cause to which the progress of the reactionary movement may be ascribed. The development of our views on this point would require a separate article, and we may perhaps, at some future time, attempt it. We conclude at present with the earnest hope that the reign of truth will be the result of the great struggle which is now beginning throughout all the civilized world, between the principles of Rome and those of the Reformation. This state of things is undoubtedly better than religious indifference, in the condemnation of which we entirely agree with our opponents; yet the conflict may be productive of great harm, as it

unquestionably will be severe and protracted. Unfortunately, the history of religious parties shows but few examples of a rational and peaceful discussion of great questions, devoid of bitterness and personality, and carried on with the sole object of ascertaining the truth. We therefore most earnestly beseech and sincerely exhort all our fellow protestants who are engaged in that solemn contest, never to forget in these trying circumstances the precept of Augustinus, '*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas,*' but above all, '*in omnibus charitas.*'

Art. II. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.*
Edited by his Brother, Leonard Horner, Esq. 2 Vols. London:
J. Murray.

THE name of Francis Horner is probably unknown to most of our readers. His premature death, and the rapid succession of stirring events since his day, have prevented his retaining that hold on the popular mind for which many of his early friends looked, and which the admirable qualities of his intellect warranted them in so doing. The general public will therefore need some inducement to take up the volumes before us, and this is amply supplied in the nature of their contents. It has rarely been our lot to peruse a biographical work, partly political and partly literary, which combines in so abundant a measure whatever constitutes such a work both attractive and valuable. The personal qualities of Mr. Horner, the distinguished character of his early associates, the deep interest and importance of some of the literary enterprises in which he took a prominent part, his extensive correspondence, and early introduction into the best circles of his day, all attach a charm to his *Memoirs*, which, desultory as they are, renders them one of the most interesting and informing publications which the press has issued for some time past. In a brief and modest preface, Mr. Leonard Horner informs us of the various efforts which have been made to bring out the *Memoirs* of his brother in a more continuous, and, as some would think, perfected form. From this account, we learn that the design of issuing such a work was altogether abandoned, until the publication of the memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly suggested a new course, which has been followed out with the happiest effect in the volumes now before us. As the materials employed by the editors of that work were very similar to those in the possession of Mr. Horner's brother, the latter tells us, 'I felt an assurance that by a careful selection from the papers and correspondence, by the addition of a few pages at the commencement and close, and by filling up occasional blanks in the course

of the narrative, it would be possible to make my brother himself relate the history of his life. Such is the work I now venture to lay before the public.'

The letters given are not more than one-third of those which were in the editor's possession, while only a small number of those of his correspondents have been admitted. 'I have been obliged,' Mr. Horner remarks, 'to omit much that I would willingly have published, but I restricted my work to two volumes, which I considered the utmost length to which it could, with any propriety, be extended.' This decision was probably wise, though we confess the letters published are so valuable, that we are ready to regret more have not been given.

Mr. Francis Horner was born in Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1778. His father was a merchant of that city, who 'had assiduously cultivated a naturally strong understanding,' and was thus well fitted, in conjunction with Mrs. Horner, to favour the early development of those talents by which their son was distinguished. 'His earliest friend was Henry Brougham,' and in 1786 he was sent to the High School of Edinburgh, whence he removed in 1792 to the University, which was then at the height of its reputation, numbering amongst its professors Robertson the historian, Dugald Stewart, John Playfair, and Hugh Blair. He remained at college until the summer of 1795, and during the last year of his residence was, in conjunction with his friend, Henry Brougham, a leading member of the 'Juvenile Literary Society.' Being designed for the Scottish bar, his father wisely determined on his prosecuting his studies, for a time, in England, in order, principally, that he might free himself from the disadvantages of a provincial dialect. In pursuit of this object he removed to the neighbourhood of London in the close of 1795, and took up his residence with the Rev. John Hewlett, of Shacklewell, a clergyman of whom he subsequently spoke in terms of uniform esteem. He was called to the Scottish bar on the 6th of June 1800, but within two years removed to London, for the purpose of entering on the wider and more remunerative field which our courts supply.

Before leaving Scotland, Mr. Horner took an active part in the origination of the Edinburgh Review, and his letters, as well as those of his correspondents, contain frequent allusions to the early history of this journal, some of which we shall extract for the information of our readers. 'The Review,' he informs us in his journal of September 30th, 1802, 'was concerted about the end of last winter between Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, and myself. The plan was immediately communicated to Murray, Allen, and Hamilton; Brown, Brougham, and the two Thompsons, have gradually been made parties.'

Considerable difficulties were experienced in the accomplishment of their design, and Mr. Jeffrey, on whom the editorship devolved, was sometimes almost disposed to abandon the project in despair. Writing to Mr. Horner under date of April 9, 1802, he says,

‘I must first tell you about the Review though, that you may be satisfied it holds the first place in my affection. We are in a miserable state of backwardness, you must know, and have been giving some symptoms of despondency; various measures have been tried, at least, against the earliness of our intended day of publication; and hints have been given of a delay that I am afraid would prove fatal. Something is done, however, and a good deal, I hope, is doing. Smith has gone through more than half his task. So has Hamilton. Allen has made some progress; and Murray and myself, I believe, have studied our parts, and tuned our instruments, and are *almost ready to begin*. On the other hand, Thompson is sick, Brown has engaged for nothing but Miss Baillie’s plays; and Timothy has engaged for nothing, but professed it to be his opinion the other day that he would never put pen to paper in our cause. Brougham must have a sentence to himself; and I am afraid you will not think it a pleasant one. You remember how cheerfully he approved of our plan at first, and agreed to give us an article or two without hesitation. Three or four days ago I proposed two or three books that I thought would suit him; he answered, with perfect good humour, that he had changed his view of our plan a little, and rather thought now that he should decline to have any connexion with it.’—Vol. i., p. 186.

Nothing can well be more characteristic than the closing part of this extract. Unhappily, Lord Brougham is, in this respect, much the same as was Henry Brougham, and his biographer will, in consequence, have to tell of an unsteadiness of purpose which has wasted his mental faculties and neglected opportunities of public usefulness such as no other modern statesmen has enjoyed. In the September following, we are told that ‘Brougham is now an efficient and zealous member of the party,’ and was engaged in the preparation of a paper for the first number. This number appeared in November, and the measure of success which attended the project is thus referred to in Mr. Horner’s journal.

‘November 20th.—Before I proceed to speak of my own studies, I shall make a short memorandum with respect to the reception which the first number of our Review has met with in Edinburgh, for we have not yet got an account of its fate in London. Upon the whole, I do not think we have gained much character by it; it is considered as respectable enough in point of talents, but the severity, in some of the papers, it may be called scurrility, has given general dissatisfaction. In the next number, we must soften our tone, and be more indulgent to folly and to bad taste. Jeffrey is the person who will derive most

honour from this publication, as his articles in this number are generally known, and are incomparably the best; I have received the greater pleasure from this circumstance, because the genius of that little man has remained almost unknown to all but his most intimate acquaintances. His manner is not at first pleasing; what is worse, it is of that cast, which almost irresistibly impresses upon strangers the idea of levity and superficial talents. Yet there is not any man whose real character is so much the reverse; he has indeed a very sportive and playful fancy, but it is accompanied with very extensive and varied information, with a readiness of apprehension almost intuitive, with judicious and calm discernment, with a profound and penetrating understanding. Indeed, both in point of candour and of vigour in the reasoning powers, I have never personally known a finer intellect than Jeffrey's, unless I were to except Allen's.'—*Ib.*, pp. 205, 206.

The first impression of this number, consisting of seven hundred and fifty copies, was soon exhausted, and a second of equal extent was in consequence immediately put to press. 'You will not,' writes Mr. Horner, 'be surprised that we have given a good deal of disappointment by the temperate air of our politics; nothing short of blood and atheism and democracy were predicted by some wise and fair ones, as the necessary production of our set.' Writing to the same gentleman on the 24th of the following January, Mr. Horner gives the following brief account of the second appearance of himself and friends.

'This day we publish a second number of our Review. I think you will find it free, at least nearly so, from some of the objections that were most strongly, and all of them justly, urged against the former. There are scarcely any insignificant books—no sermons—few personalities—the general train of criticism less abusive. We are not indeed quite purified of all our gross faults, but the opinion of our friends has made a considerable impression upon us. I think this number has no articles so good as some of the last; but there is a good deal of careful disquisition.'—*Ib.*, pp. 214, 215.

So far their success exceeded their expectations. The state both of literature and of political parties called for such a journal, and the men who combined to produce it, united the enthusiasm of youth with distinguished talents and a varied if not profound scholarship. The irreligious tone which pervaded the Review for several years was matter of deep regret, and served to alienate from its ranks many who were otherwise disposed to regard it with favour. Its course, however, apart from this consideration, was not free from discouraging circumstances. Hostility was engendered in many quarters, and on various accounts. This will always be the case with a public journal, even when its conduct is unexceptionable. Those whose opinions are

condemned will feel themselves aggrieved, and such authors as have looked in vain for the praise to which they deem their labours entitled, will naturally join the malcontents. The following letter from Mr. Jeffrey, dated December 6th, 1808, will not be uninteresting or unimportant to the future literary historian of the early part of the present century.

‘I see by the *Courier* that the combustion which the review of Cevallos has excited here, has spread in some degree to London. I am convinced, too, that it has damaged us a little; and am so much persuaded that it is necessary for us to make more than an ordinary exertion at this crisis, that I take courage to do that which is now very painful to me—to solicit your aid in my day of need. The Tories having got a handle are running us down with all their might; and the ghosts of all the miseries we have slain are rising to join the vengeance. Walter Scott and William Erskine, and about twenty-five persons of consideration, have forbidden the *Review* to enter their doors. The Earl of Buchan, I am informed, opened his street door, and actually *kicked* it out! Then, Cumberland is going to start an anonymous rival; and, what is worse, I have reason to believe that Scott, Ellis, Frere, Southey, and some others, are plotting another. You must see, therefore, that it is really necessary for us now to put on a manful countenance, and to call even the *emeriti* to our assistance. I entreat you to do an article for me during the holidays. We shall scarcely be out before the end of January, and I might even give you the whole of that month, if you need it. Now, I do think that you would give me 100*l.* if I was in great need of it; and this will cost you less work than you could do for 50*l.* for any knave of a solicitor, and it is of infinitely more consequence and gratification to me than any 100*l.* could be. Persuade yourself for once then, my dear Horner, that this is not a solicitation of custom, but that I make it with as much real anxiety and earnestness, and as much dread of a refusal, as if I were asking a pecuniary boon. You shall have your choice, of course, of a subject; but I wish you would put your notes and notions of Malthus together at last. It is a fine subject, and you are in a manner pledged to it. But if you can think of anything more popular or striking, take it—only no party politics, and nothing but exemplary moderation and impartiality on all politics. I have allowed too much mischief to be done from my mere indifference and love of sport; but it would be inexcusable to spoil the powerful instrument we have got hold of, for the sake of teasing and playing tricks. Tell me, too, what you think I should do myself. I grow stupid from day to day; but I will cheerfully dedicate the holidays to this service, if you will condescend to guide me.’—*Ib.*, pp. 437—439.

We have already remarked that the present Lord Brougham was amongst the earliest friends of Mr. Horner, and we are tempted by the interest of the theme to transfer to our pages a few of the references which occur to this distinguished man.

It is obvious to remark that the same qualities, both of intellect and of heart, as are exhibited by the peer, are conspicuous in these allusions to his early character. Writing in 1798 to the Rev. John Hewlett, Mr. Horner asks—

‘Had you any conversation with Brougham? He is an uncommon genius, of a *composite order*, if you allow me to use the expression; he unites the greatest ardour for general information in every branch of knowledge, and, what is more remarkable, activity in the business, and interest in the pleasures of the world, with all the powers of a mathematical intellect. Did you notice his physiognomy? I am curious to know your observations on it.’—*Ib.*, p. 66.

Again in 1802, writing to a friend, he says:—

‘Brougham has concluded a bargain about his book with Longman, who has been here making purchases of that kind; he talks of sending it to the press in about two months. The title, an ‘Enquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers.’ That it will do him great credit, I have no doubt; I hope it may be the means of introducing him into a respectable line of political connexions. Old Liverpool wrote himself into notice by a seasonable, though puny, pamphlet on the rights of neutrals. Should an active scene be opened to Brougham, I shall tremble with anxiety for some time, though it is what I very ardently wish; his information on political subjects, especially in some departments, is now immense; his talents are equal to the most effective use and display of that knowledge. But his ardour is so urgent that I should be afraid of his being deficient in prudence. That he would ultimately become a leading and predominant mind, I cannot doubt; but he might attempt to fix himself in that place too soon, before he had gone through what, I presume, is a necessary routine of subordination,’—*Ib.*, pp. 204, 205.

In his journal for August 26th, 1804, Mr. Horner records the particulars of a conversation he had had with Professor Playfair, respecting a scheme for a new Encyclopædia agitated at Edinburgh, which had, however, been dropped, from the difficulty of obtaining a suitable editor. The high opinion entertained of the ability and varied acquisitions of Mr. Brougham is strikingly shown in the following statement of the journalist:—

‘Mr. Playfair asked me about Brougham, observing, very justly, that had he remained at Edinburgh he would have been the man for editor of the Encyclopædia. I told him fairly that I should not expect that Brougham would bestow that perseverance in composition and minute execution on which the merits of elementary treatises must very much depend, and that at any rate he was for the present wholly absorbed in political schemes, with the view of bringing himself into action, though I thought it not an improbable event, if he were disappointed in his immediate views, that he might bury himself for the remainder of his life in retirement, devoted to science and literature, and occupied with some vast scheme of literary ambition.’—*Ib.*, pp. 258, 259.

There was a time when we should have reflected with unmingled pleasure on the fact, that the young adventurer's 'immediate views' were not disappointed. Would that it were so still, but alas! for Lord Brougham's fame, his bitterest foe cannot desire a more humiliating spectacle than his lordship at present exhibits. The sport of impetuous passions, he recklessly trifles with a reputation which was once the idol of his country, and can scarcely fail to be speedily identified with that most despicable of all classes, political apostates. But enough of this; we have shared too largely in the admiration with which Lord Brougham was formerly regarded to feel other than pain at his present degraded position. His entrance into parliament is referred to by Mr. Horner in a letter dated January 6, 1810, in terms of unmingled satisfaction, whilst an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of his character is shown. 'Upon the whole,' says the letter writer, 'I would predict, that though he may very often cause irritation and uncertainty about him to be felt by those with whom he is politically connected, his course will prove, in the main, serviceable to the true faith of liberty and liberal principles. For him personally it will be very fortunate if he has some probationary years to pass on the opposition side of the House.'

The two men were evidently cast in very different moulds, and we are not therefore surprised that some alienation took place between them. 'His alienation from me,' says Mr. Horner to his friend Mr. Jeffrey, 'for reasons which I never have been able to guess, is the only considerable misfortune I have ever suffered in my life, and it would take quite a load off my mind if he would give me a hint to catch at, for forgetting that I ever had suffered it. I have always cherished a hope that we may in time approximate again.' This hope was subsequently in some measure realized, and Mr. Horner records the fact in terms of the most entire satisfaction.

From the commencement of his career, Mr. Horner looked to politics as his ultimate destination, and to his profession as the means of giving him an independent and influential standing among his fellow aspirants. 'Political adventure,' he remarks in his journal, 'is a game which I am disqualified from playing by many circumstances of my character, and which I am resolved to decline. But some share in public business acquired by reputation, and supported on an independent footing, is a fair object, and almost the only reward that stimulates me to the law.' In this expectation he was not disappointed. His reputation had preceded him, and as his acquaintance amongst the Whig party was extensive, he was speedily admitted to the most select circles of its members. His first visit to Earl Fitzwilliam's is thus noticed in his journal:—

‘I have been at Lord Fitzwilliam’s; the party, like all large ones, unsatisfactory. I had the pleasure, however, of seeing, and being introduced to, Windham and Sheridan. I heard Windham talk no more than to enchant me with his manner; Sheridan, I had an opportunity of seeing and hearing more at length, and in an appropriate manner, for he went afterwards with the younger men of the company to a tavern, where we sat till three o’clock in the morning. His serious conversation, about the defence bill and some other matters, was very tame; but his satire and pleasantry full of fire and vigour. He seems to me rather too attentive to strangers, though his manners are certainly very polished; but this courteous notice of one looks as if it had a purpose, though it may not.’—*Ib.*, pp. 254, 255.

From this period to the close of life, his letters abound in political information, always interesting, and marked by the attributes of a mind at once honest, discriminating, and candid. The future historian of our political parties will find in these letters some of his most valuable materials, and we cannot do better than transfer a portion of them to our pages. Writing under date of May 24, 1803, when the feeble administration of Mr. Addington was struggling with the increased difficulties arising out of the expected renewal of hostilities with France, Mr. Horner says:—

‘You are indebted for this letter to a severe disappointment I met with this evening, in not getting into the House of Commons. A great display is expected, on account chiefly of the nicety and various embarrassments under which the question must present itself to more than one of the parties. They are now in the very heat and pride of the debate; twelve o’clock. After waiting all the morning, I got no farther than the door of the gallery. Everybody here seems to be of one mind as to the justice of the war, in respect of the case (as we lawyers may call it) that this country can make out against Bonaparte; but the *policy* of war at the present juncture is a different question, of which people take various views.

‘The old opposition party held a meeting last night to discuss their plans; I learned a few particulars of it. Fox spoke with great moderation, expressed his anxiety for the preservation of peace, but acknowledged the difficulties of the conjuncture. He had to submit to the folly of some of his associates. Would you imagine that that great statesman, Lord Suffolk, embraced this seasonable occasion of giving Fox a formal lecture upon some improprieties of his former conduct, beginning with the coalition, and ending with the evidence at Maidstone. This was meant merely as friendly advice. Sheridan was so drunk, that the first time he spoke he was unintelligible; he afterwards became more articulate, and dwelt a good deal upon the danger of throwing the doctor, by too severe an attack, into the arms of Pitt. This idea I find very prevalent among many of the friends and partisans of the old opposition. But Fox’s observation was more manly;

that they were bound to expose those errors and weaknesses of which they were convinced, and were not entitled to practise an over-cautious and temporizing forbearance upon a calculation of any contingencies.'—pp. 218—220.

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Murray, he refers to the debate from which he had been excluded, and gives the following account of the speeches of Fox and Pitt:—

'By all the accounts I have collected, both Pitt and Fox made a very great display. Pitt's peroration was a complete half hour of his most powerful declamation, not lowered in its tone for a moment; not a particle of all this is preserved in the report lately published, though said to be done by Canning. Fox's speech was quite of a different cast, and not at all in the tone which he usually adopts; no high notes, no impassioned bursts, but calm, subtle, argumentative pleasantry. He very seldom attempts to keep the house laughing; but in this speech, I understand, it was evidently his design throughout, and Mackintosh says he never heard so much wit. A good many of the points are repeated, none of which are in the newspapers, but I cannot pretend to give you them. I remember, however, the compliment he paid to Pitt's speech, that 'if Demosthenes had been present, he must have admired, and might have envied.'—*Ib.*, p. 221.

Mr. Addington speedily resigned, when Pitt returned to office, and the old opposition, reinforced by the Grenville party, prepared for a severe struggle with the court favourite. The death, however, of Pitt, January 23, 1806, threw parties into temporary confusion. An amendment was to have been moved in the Commons on the previous day, but the illness of the minister touched the generous heart of his rival, and his subsequent death induced, of course, an abandonment of the design.

'A few hours before going down to Westminster there was a meeting at Mr. Fox's house of a few of the principal persons of opposition; Cowper was there. Fox stated to them that he thought it impossible they could enter into the discussion; he could not while they had the idea that Pitt was in extremities;—'*mentem mortalia tangunt*,' he said. Cowper described him as appearing to feel very sensibly the calamity of his distinguished rival; and he described it by saying, that Fox appeared to feel more than Lord Grenville, who was present also.'—*Ib.*, p. 328.

The state of parties compelled the king most reluctantly to send for Lord Grenville, who immediately informed his Majesty 'that the person with whom he should consult upon this occasion was Mr. Fox,' to which, of course, the king had no alternative but to submit. The royal intentions were from the first known to be hostile to the Whig party. There was no confidence

between him and its leaders, and in taking them into his councils, it was with the intention of getting rid of them as soon as circumstances permitted. The following notices of some of the persons interested in the negotiations now carried on, occur in Mr. Horner's journal.

'In the interval between Pitt's death and the message to Lord Grenville,—that is, between Thursday and Sunday, an offer was certainly made to Lord Wellesley, from the remainder of the ministry, and, of course, with the king's approbation, to take the lead of administration. He declined it immediately and distinctly. This was made known to the prince, I presume, by Lord Wellesley himself, who has courted his Royal Highness since his arrival very assiduously, and with success; the prince mentioned it to Mr. Fox as an instance of great generosity in Wellesley. Mr. Fox probably viewed it as belonging rather to the virtue of prudence and address. This was mentioned to me by —.

'Sheridan is very little consulted at present, and, it is said, will not have a seat in the cabinet. This is a distressing necessity. His habits of daily intoxication are probably considered as unfitting him for trust. The little that has been confided to him he has been running about to tell; and since Monday, he has been visiting Sidmouth. At a dinner at Lord Cowper's on Sunday last, where the prince was, he got drunk, as usual, and began to speak slightly of Fox. From what grudge this behaviour proceeds I have not learned. The whole fact is one to investigate with candour, and with a full remembrance of Sheridan's great services, in the worst times, to the principles of liberty.

'So Lord Holland, according to the projected arrangement, has *not* a seat in the cabinet. He has been too disinterested; and the future operations of this ministry may suffer for it. He determined not to take a step higher than Lauderdale, who has been absent all the while; Holland would not consent to be raised over him. He has given way likewise for Lord Henry Petty, in order to secure him a high situation.' —*Ib.*, pp. 332, 333.

Lord Ellenborough's admission to the cabinet, as one of the Addington party, was strongly objected to by Mr. Horner and others on constitutional grounds, as he might have, in his character as chief judge, 'to try those prosecutions which he had concurred in the cabinet to order.' 'These general reasons,' he remarks, 'are doubly enforced in the present instance by the character and manners of the man. In the year 1801 he changed at an hour's notice the opinions and language of his life to become a court lawyer, and has never felt the dignity of his great station a restraint upon his temper, from uttering what is to the purpose of the day with the utmost coarseness of factious warfare.'

Mr. Fox did not long survive his great rival. His health had, for some time, been declining, and now utterly failed beneath

the onerous labours of his position. He expired on the 13th of September, and the event was announced in a letter to Mr. Jeffrey, wherein the writer feelingly exclaims, 'The giant race is extinct, and we are left in the hands of little ones, whom we know to be diminutive, having measured them against the others.'

'I look upon what has been called Mr. Fox's party, the remains of the old Whig faction, as extinguished entirely with him; his name alone kept the fragments together after the party had been long ago broken to pieces. . . . We are deprived, by this calamitous death, of our great leader in all popular principles of administration; no man of acknowledged and commanding talents is left to supply his place. But there are a few men whose integrity and steadiness have been tried, and a few others, younger men, who are confided in by those who know them best. Howick, Lauderdale, Holland, and Petty, are the persons in whom I am inclined to repose my confidence, though it seems to me that they ought to yield the supremacy to Grenville, while he perseveres in the same honourable conduct to which he has adhered since his junction with Mr. Fox. The new appointment will be a sort of test, not precisely the disposal of the seals, but the manner in which the vacant seat in the cabinet is filled. I look with very great solicitude to the course of parties during the next six months; it will be a period probably, though not at first, of severe and decisive probation. I have no fears of Lord Grenville himself; he is free from all levity or fickleness of conduct, certainly, and has given pledges which he has too much obstinacy, as well as honesty, to forfeit. A few years of opposition gave him some sentiments which will remain; and the circumstances of his family, their influence, fortune, and pretensions, make them now a knot of aristocrats, not ready to submit to the crown, but disposed to make terms. You perceive, therefore, that I consider an alliance with the Grenvilles as a measure of prudence for the Whigs; but my speculations will perhaps appear as fallacious, as you would think the subject of them unworthy of a *philosopher's* approbation, even if they were better founded in themselves.'—*Ib.*, pp. 374—376.

In the November following, Mr. Horner was returned for the borough of St. Ives, in Cornwall, but a general election ensuing on the dismissal of the Whig administration in the spring of 1807, he was not re-elected till July, when by Lord Carrington's interest, he was returned for Wendover. The Duke of Portland's administration, which followed that consequent on the death of Mr. Fox, was but short-lived, and overtures were made to Lords Grenville and Grey to coalesce with Mr. Percival. These were of course rejected, and the approaches subsequently made by the Prince of Wales were productive of no lasting settlement. The conduct of the latter personage was at first regarded by Mr. Horner as distinguished by 'eminent propriety'

and 'perfect honour,' but the hollowness of his professions was speedily detected, and the result is shown in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Hallam, dated July 24, 1812:—

'I regret very much that you are not satisfied with the conduct of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville in their rupture of the negotiation. It is perhaps a nice question of conduct, and one of those in which there is hardly any other test but success to be resorted to. Upon the whole circumstances, particularly with what has been added to our knowledge of them by Lord Moira's subsequent conduct, and by Lord Spencer's statement in the House of Lords, I think their mode of closing the negotiation was the most honourable and upright for themselves, though, with a little more reserve, they might have left it to be terminated with more disgrace to the prince. I was prepared, I own at the same time, to pardon them if they had been less sturdy about the household, and thought, if there was a possibility of their getting power, with the views they had of using it, that they might be defended against the abuse that was in preparation for them, if they should have yielded to the court its pretensions respecting the household. I am now satisfied, looking back to the whole intrigue, that they never had any chance of coming into office, and am somewhat inclined to apprehend that the high tone of personal honour, and the strict stoical maxims of political conduct, which the present leaders of the Whig opposition are guided by, in their negotiations about office, and without the observance of which, power can have but little to gratify such men, are not calculated to obtain place for them, except in a favourable conjuncture of accidents, or to win immediate favour for them with the public, whether they gain the places or are disappointed. I will not say that nothing of the peculiarities of temper was to be detected in their prompt and peremptory manner of negotiating; but, on the other hand, they negotiated with all the odds against them, arising from their integrity and rigid honour being known to those who intrigued against them with fewer scruples. Never was there a time, in my remembrance of politics, which brought out, in so strong a light, the characters of all the persons engaged in the transaction; and I am sorry to say, that some of whom I was anxious to form or to keep a high opinion, such as Canning and Whitbread, sunk a great way in my estimation before it was all over.'—Vol. ii., pp. 113, 114.

The allusion to Mr. Whitbread at the close of this extract must not be understood as conveying a more general censure than was intended. It respected only a particular negotiation, and was perfectly consistent with a high estimate of Mr. Whitbread's integrity and services. The death of that practical senator, who represented a class of which few representatives remain amongst us, gave occasion to the following summary of his character in a letter to Mr. Hallam, July 22, 1815:—

'The event that has most agitated me since I parted from you, is the death of Whitbread, which you mentioned with sentiments that

gave me a real pleasure; for I shall ever respect his memory, and with something like affection too, for the large portion of my life which, in a certain sense, I consider as having been passed with him, and for the impression he had made upon me of his being one of the most just, upright, and intrepid of public men. As a statesman, I never regarded him at all; he had no knowledge of men or affairs to fit him for administration; his education had been very limited, and its defects were not supplied by any experience of real political business: but he must always stand high in the list of that class of public men, the peculiar growth of England and of the House of Commons, who perform great services to their country, and hold a considerable place in the sight of the world, by fearlessly expressing in that assembly the censure that is felt by the public, and by being as it were the organ of that public opinion which, in some measure, keeps our statesmen to their duty. His force of character and ability, seconded by his singular activity, had, in the present absence of all men of genius and ascendancy from the House, given him a pre-eminence which almost marks the last years of parliament with the stamp of his peculiar manner. His loss will lead to a change of this: in all points of taste and ornament, and in the skill, too, and prudence of debate, the change may probably be for the better; but it will be long before the people and the constitution are supplied in the House of Commons with a tribune of the same vigilance, assiduity, perseverance, and courage, as Samuel Whitbread. The manner of his death quite overwhelmed me, I could think of nothing else for days together, nor do I remember, in our own time, another catastrophe so morally impressive, as the instantaneous failure of all that constancy, and rectitude, and inflexibility of mind, which seemed possessions that could be lost only with life; yet all the while there was a speck morbid in the body which rendered them as precarious as life itself.'—*Ib.*, pp. 260, 261.

The following reference to Sir Francis Burdett will not be uninteresting to those who are interested in marking the course through which the would-be patriot is transfused into the courtier. It is under date of June 26, 1810:—

‘What a curious scene was exhibited last week in this city; and what would John Wilkes or Cardinal de Retz have said, to such a false step as Burdett has made, in failing to appear in the procession prepared for him. He has acted in that a more temperate and peaceable part, than I had previously given him credit for; but it is manifest, that his conduct is inconsistent with itself, that all he had done before required him to go on, and that he had advanced too far in the popular race to turn back. His popularity is accordingly very much impaired. The agitators and desperate spirits have had it proved to them, that he is not a leader for them, and has not mettle enough; and the good-hearted mob have found, to their disappointment, that whether it be want of courage, or too good a taste, he will not always enter into all their noise. The more intelligent of his party must be satisfied that he is deficient in resolution, and cannot always be depended on. His powers

of doing mischief are diminished, therefore, if he ever had any mischievous designs, which I do not believe; and if the public were once satisfied that he is no longer popular with the multitude, and thereby formidable, I think he has qualities that would enable him, in his way, to do good occasionally, and to assist other public men in doing good in theirs. Vain he is, no doubt, and always acting upon the suggestions of others, and those often inferior to himself; but he has a prompt indignation against injustice and oppression, one of the best elements of the passion for liberty; and by great and fortunate labour he has acquired a talent for speaking in public. I believe he loves his country and the ancient institutions. I think, too, he has considerable candour in judging of the talents as well as motives of other men; but there have been some symptoms of a very pitiful jealousy, towards those who have interfered with him in his own line of Westminster popularity. He has rendered himself a remarkable man, though I fear he is not likely to do any great or lasting service to the public; his late transactions have extended his popularity beyond the capital, to which it was confined before; but in the end they have lessened it in the capital.'—*Ib.*, pp. 49, 50.

Sir Samuel Romilly's election contest at Bristol in 1812 is amongst the earliest of our youthful recollections. We well remember the admiration he excited, the esteem, amounting in many cases to affection, with which he was regarded, the unwonted enthusiasm awakened on his behalf, and the bitter disappointment which his defeat inflicted. With these remembrances still fresh, we have been much interested by the correspondence which passed between this most estimable and distinguished senator and Mr. Horner immediately after the defeat of the former. 'I hope,' says Mr. Horner, 'you will not decline a seat if any of those who have boroughs should (as I cannot doubt they will) put it in your power. I know your objection to that mode of holding a seat in the House; but as long as the representation continues on its actual footing, I cannot agree that a man who knows he can serve the public ought to refuse that opportunity of serving them.' Sir Samuel acknowledged this communication with the courtesy which it merited, remarking at the close of his letter, 'I certainly have not made up my mind to refuse coming into parliament in the way you mention. My opinion upon that subject is greatly altered, since it has become the only legal way in which to me parliament can be accessible.'

We know not—indeed, we are clearly of opinion—that in the then state of the representation, valid objection could be taken to this decision, at the same time that we congratulate ourselves and the country on the rotten-borough system having been so far destroyed. Much undoubtedly yet remains to be done; but the mighty achievement already effected holds out the promise

of its certain accomplishment. After the triumph of the popular will in the case of the Reform Bill, we need not despair of any triumph, however strongly opposed by aristocratical prejudice and interests.

A brief visit was paid in the summer of 1814 to Jeremy Bentham, then residing at Ford Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Axminster, and the following brief account of the daily avocations of that celebrated man will not be uninteresting to our readers. It occurs in a letter to Miss Anne Horner:—

‘There are some handsome rooms, furnished in the taste of King William’s time; one of these, very spacious and hung with tapestry, Mr. Bentham has converted into what he calls his ‘scribbling shop:’ two or three tables are set out, covered with white napkins, on which are placed two or three music desks with manuscripts; his technical memory (I believe), and all the other apparatus of the exhaustive method. I was present at the mysteries, for he went on as if we had not been with him. A long walk, after our breakfast and before his, began the day. He came into the house about one o’clock, the tea things being by that time set by his writing-table, and he proceeded very deliberately to sip his tea, while a young man, a sort of pupil and amanuensis, read the newspapers to him, paragraph by paragraph. This and the tea together seemed gradually to prepare his mind for working, in which he engaged by degrees, and became at last quite absorbed in what was before him, till about five o’clock, when he met us at dinner. He permitted me to sit in the same room, for the purpose of looking over some old volumes which he had found in the house; but I was much more attentive to his own proceedings; this is his daily course throughout the year. Adam, who had never seen him before, was delighted with the suavity and cheerfulness of his manner. Besides the young man I have mentioned, Mr. Cohen, he has living with him Mr. Mill (a gentleman who writes a good deal in the *Edinburgh Review*,) and his whole family.’—*Ib.*, pp. 179, 180.

So early as 1812 we meet with allusions, in the letters of Mr. Horner’s correspondents, to the state of his health, and an increasing anxiety is evinced, lest his numerous engagements should tax too heavily his physical strength. He himself appears to have been entirely free from serious apprehension, and the active part which he took in many of the questions which came before the House of Commons in the early part of 1816, might seem to betoken vigorous health. In a letter to his father, June 5th, he says, ‘I am still a little plagued with a cough, in which there is nothing at all material except the circumstance of its continuing so long, which I think is owing to the cold weather. To be quite sure of this, I have (by Lady Holland’s desire) seen Dr. Warren, who thinks there is nothing in it, but considers the stomach, as of old, chiefly in fault, and has given me

some directions to observe on that head.' His friends, however, were far from sharing in the indifference with which he treated these ailments. Symptoms of pulmonary affection developed themselves, and he was urged to submit his case to the judgment of eminent medical practitioners. He followed their advice, but this most insidious of human diseases baffled all skill, and speedily terminated his life. It was at length resolved to try the effects of a southern climate, which he announced to Lady Holland on the 30th of September, in terms full of delusive hope.

'Dr. Gregory, with the concurrence of the other physicians, is of opinion that all is sound yet, no harm done, but that care and precaution next winter are indispensably necessary, not only against cold and fatigue, but every degree of exertion. They have positively interdicted me from my profession during the winter, and have strongly advised me to pass the cold months of that season and the spring in a southern climate. I put in a word for two warm rooms at home, in which I promised to confine myself; but they urged the importance of getting to a climate where I might still have open air and regular exercise. That consideration, and a conviction that after this opinion has been delivered by them, my family would feel constant anxiety if I did not follow it, have determined me to go abroad. My brother has offered to go with me, wherever it is; and we shall set out for London on Saturday, where I must be for two or three days, in order to make some necessary arrangements.'—*Ib.*, pp. 343, 344.

Lady Holland's reply to this communication is one of the most beautiful expressions of a kind, and gentle, yet warm-hearted friendship, with which it has been our lot to meet, and, as equally honourable to her ladyship and to Mr. Horner, we should transcribe it if our limits were not already exceeded. Her ladyship would have detained him at Holland-house for the winter, but his medical advisers were decided, and he departed in consequence for Pisa. On the 4th of February, 1817, he informed his father that his health was improving, and expressed the fullest confidence as to the result. 'He at no time appeared to despair of ultimate recovery, and never uttered a word indicating apprehension that he was labouring under a fatal disease; but on more than one occasion he expressed a belief that his recovery would be slow, and that he should have a long interval of repose before he should be able to resume his active duties.' His hopes, however, were wholly illusive, for the disorder under which he was suffering had, at this very time, nearly attained its fatal consummation.

'Two days after he had written the last letter to his father, the difficulty of breathing and the cough reappeared with some severity; on the following morning they were somewhat abated; but towards the

evening they returned, accompanied by drowsiness. I slept in a room next to his own, with an open door between us. In the night I heard him moaning, and on going to him, he said, that he moaned from difficulty of breathing; but that he wished to be left to sleep. I sent for Dr. Vaccà, who came at seven in the morning;—it was Saturday, the 8th of February. He found his patient labouring greatly in his breathing, with strong palpitations of the heart, and a low, intermittent, and irregular pulse; his forehead covered with a cold sweat, and his face and hands of a leaden colour. He was, however, perfectly sensible, and spoke in a clear distinct manner; expressing neither apprehension nor anxiety about himself. Various stimulating applications were tried, but they afforded no relief; the difficulty of breathing gradually increasing.

‘Although I had entire confidence in the skill of Dr. Vacca, I requested, towards the afternoon, that there might be a consultation with another physician. They came together soon after four o’clock, and I left the bed-side of the patient, to receive them in the adjoining room; I was absent about ten minutes, and returned alone, to prepare him for seeing the new physician. On drawing aside the curtain, I found his face deadly pale, his eyes fixed, and his hand cold; for a few moments I flattered myself that he had only fainted from weakness; but the sad reality was soon revealed to me,—the precious object of my care was taken from us for ever.’—*Ib.*, pp. 406, 407.

It appeared, from a post-mortem examination which was instituted, that Mr. Horner’s disease was not consumption, but ‘an enlargement of the air cells, and a condensation of the substance of the lungs.’ The case was, therefore, beyond human remedy; and his country was, in consequence, deprived of one of its most generous sons, and an extended circle of friends of one of its brightest ornaments, before the maturity of his powers or of his fame. Such was the subject of these memoirs—a rare compound of intellect and affection.

‘His success in the House of Commons,’ says the Rev. Sydney Smith, ‘was decided and immediate, and went on increasing to the last day of his life. Though put into parliament by one of the great borough lords, every one saw that he represented his own real opinions; without hereditary wealth, and known as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, his independence was never questioned; his integrity, sincerity, and moderation, were acknowledged by all sides, and respected even by those impudent assassins who live only to discourage honesty and traduce virtue. The House of Commons, as a near relation of mine once observed, has more good taste than any man in it. Horner, from his manners, his ability, and his integrity, became a general favourite with the House; they suspended for him their habitual dislike of lawyers, of political adventurers, and of young men of *conseederable taalents* from the North.’—*Ib.*, p. 436.

This is high praise, but not higher than was due. Francis Horner possessed many of the noblest and most winning elements

of our nature, and wanted only one quality to render his character complete. Religion—in its evangelical and personal sense—was absent, and we consequently meet in his letters with a few expressions denotive of hostility to the more vital and spiritual forms of Christianity. What was the special cause of this we know not. It is ours to deplore the fact; while we freely acknowledge, that in the very loveliness and integrity of the character exhibited, we find additional reason to regret that this last perfection of the human mind was not attained.

Art. III. *Des Prisons, et des Prisonniers.* Par le Dr. Vingtrinier, Médecin en chef des Prisons de Rouen, &c. &c. A Versailles. 8vo. 1840.

DR. VINGTRINIER, from whose work upon *Prisons* and *Prisoners* the following details and documents are taken, is advantageously known in France for his persevering pursuit of every improvement calculated to confer lasting correction upon the unhappy victims of vice. During many years he has more particularly devoted attention to the care of *young* criminals, both within the walls of prisons and penitentiaries, AND AFTER THEIR DISCHARGE FROM CONFINEMENT, to which last subject it is intended to limit this article.*

Melancholy as the aspect of every prison is, and wretched as all their inmates are under any circumstances, it is, above all, in the case of the young, that the inevitably demoralizing contact of a gaol is fatal to the mind, and its enervating influence mischievous to the body. The full-grown culprit may already have acquired some habits which counteract the effect of evil associations, and some muscular strength to bear the crushing weight of labour without due motives, or to resist the contagion of even more destructive idleness. But the young, with their eager aptitude to learn, receive in prison the seeds of vice in a hot-bed, and with their tender limbs, which demand the play of the spirits as much as the free air for a full growth, they must, when in confinement, lose all the just proportions that should belong to human beings.

Feeling these things keenly, some benevolent and judicious Frenchmen have devised means of safely shortening the time of imprisonment to young criminals, and of suitably disposing of

* In 1826, Dr. Vingtrinier published a notice upon the prisons of Rouen; in 1828, an Essay on the Reform of Penal Laws; in 1833, an Essay on Lunatics in Prison; in 1839, an Essay on Penitentiaries and PATRONAGE SOCIETIES for young Criminals; and in 1840, the volume from which the text is chiefly taken.

them when discharged. This great reform properly applied in other nations, will constitute a brilliant chapter in the records of civilization.

These means are,—inducing well selected families in their own country to receive discharged criminals, and establishing a good system of superintendence over both them and their masters.

This was done at first by the agency of voluntary societies; and of late years, by that of the government in connexion with such societies.

The first trial was made at Strasburg, in 1823. Others followed in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, and elsewhere. Success has generally attended these efforts, and the system is now in extensive action.

A full detail of the plan and result may be given in a few words, and a rapid view of the progress and present state of prison discipline generally in France, as well as of the treatment of criminals after their discharge, will be useful in England. Each branch of the subject, although it must be legislated upon singly, is connected with other branches of it; and however peculiar some circumstances of each country may be, all have great common bonds with human nature, which lead them to frequent simultaneous action, and render the experience of each invaluable to all.

Dr. Vingtrinier gives a remarkable proof of the truth of this last observation. At the very time that the patriots, whom Thomson panegyrises in the 'Seasons,' and upon whose example the illustrious Howard only improved, were awakening in England the sympathy for prisoners which has prevailed with many unequal results to this day, a Romish preacher, Gros de Besplas, in a sermon before Louis XV., roused the conscience of even a corrupt court in the same cause. Warned by the scenes he had witnessed, when discharging the duties of visitor to capitally condemned criminals, the venerable priest concluded an eloquent discourse by a declaration, that he had seen these wretched beings rejoice at the approach of the hour of execution which was to end their more horrible imprisonment.

This sermon produced a new law, promulgated in 1780, for the reform of the prisons in France; and ever since that year, its successive governments—kingly, republican, imperial, and constitutional—have followed up the effort with various success. The Revolution, too, in filling the prisons of France with crowds of victims belonging to classes little accustomed before to their actual terrors, left deep impressions on the minds of many reflecting men, afterwards restored to power, which have given a strong impetus to the general reform on this head.

The leading improvement was, the building of nineteen vast gaols distributed throughout the country, and filled with prisoners condemned to more than one year's confinement. Work is provided in all these gaols, and they bear the name of *central houses*, 'maisons centrales,' with a view to the substitution of the idea of *penitentiary labour* for that of mere incarceration.

These nineteen gaols are distinct from the prisons in which people are confined for less than one year, and before trial. The other prisons are,—first, *police* stations, in which drunken people and others are confined for a night before being taken to the magistrate; secondly, the prisons to which people are committed for trial, and immediately after sentence; and thirdly, prisons with various wards, not extending to the purposes of the *central houses*.

At Rouen, the prison of this third class described by Dr. Vingtrinier in detail, has distinct wards for debtors—for people committed for trial—for criminals condemned to one year's imprisonment—for young criminals—and for military culprits.

In all these prisons much remains to be done, notwithstanding all that has been accomplished. In some of them, says Dr. Vingtrinier, exactly the same system is applied to men convicted of the blackest crimes, and to those who have only committed what we term *misdemeanors*; and often well managed prisons, in which great criminals are passing ten or twenty years' incarceration, are better provided with comforts than the gaol to which an individual is committed for trial, who may be acquitted of any offence. He appeals earnestly for a wise uniformity of plan that shall remove all such imperfections.

But he enlarges more earnestly, and at greater length, on another very important point. After a long struggle, the hard treatment of prisoners in former days was condemned by all thinking men, and is supposed to be abandoned for ever by the government in France. Within the last twelve years, however, a new spirit has arisen, and *severity* is again proclaimed as the true principle of prison discipline. Once it was a settled opinion, that under the more moderate system, crime sensibly diminished. The criminals in France, who in 1818 amounted to 2569 in number, were in fact reduced to 1622 in 1825. New inquiries were next asserted to have proved, that crime increased through the attractions of the improved prisons. *Hence the more modern system of solitary confinement and hard diet.*

The same fluctuation of opinion has taken place in England and in the United States, and with the same results.

Dr. Vingtrinier denies the correctness of the calculations, upon the credit of which it is asserted that crime has increased; and expatiates with great force of argument and of illustration upon

the evils of the modern system of *severity*. In its place he would set,—first, employment for criminals, vigilantly superintended; secondly, good penitentiaries; and thirdly, frequent pardons. He would thus bring into action all that tends to *invite* criminals to behave well; and he would abolish all that prevents their reform by crushing their hopes. He insists that the history of prisons and of criminals in France proves this to be the only sound and statesmanlike view of the case.

These principles of Dr. Vingtrinier are at the bottom of the plan of *protection for young criminals*, which is now to be described almost in the words of the respectable author. It is a plan exceedingly well worth the attention of those numerous persons in all parts of the United Kingdom, who watch with anxiety the condition of this unhappy class of our population.

The separation of young criminals from adults in prison is now universally admitted to be indispensable. *Their separation from each other*, and their restoration to the ordinary advantages of society, without being exposed to the corruptions of *their own* families, are points which have not yet obtained sufficient attention. It is not doubted by any, that in many cases, some term of imprisonment is necessary for the correction of young criminals; and the improvement of prisons for them has not been unsuccessful. But after having passed through the best managed penitentiary, the difficulty arises, how they may be well disposed of. This difficulty has been found to be the greater in the common cases in which young criminals have been confined in ill-managed prisons. And it has further been felt to be most embarrassing in the frequent cases in which, by a peculiarity in the French code,* young persons under the age of sixteen are declared by the judge to have acted ‘without discernment.’ These young people are required to be acquitted on the trial, but they are either to be sent home to their parents, *or to be confined in a house of correction* for terms not extending beyond the age of twenty.

All these classes are substantially those for whom much anxiety is felt in England under the names of ‘young criminals’ and ‘juvenile offenders;’ and for whom respectively transportation and colonization have been provided.

In 1832, the French minister of public works adopted the new system of protection, or patronage, for such young criminals, by placing them early in private families; and in a circular of that year, addressed to all the departments, the foundation and character of this new system are fully described:

‘A prison, it is there said, can *never* be a good school for the

* Article 66.

young. Yet, as it is the children of the poor who for the most part commit crimes, they ought, even when condemned, to be brought up so as to be able to earn a livelihood. In prisons in which there are no workshops, this is impossible. In those in which the shops must be such as will give immediate and profitable employment to the other prisoners, a proper duration of apprenticeship is also impossible; besides, the trades being necessarily of the simplest kind, they can teach little. In addition to these objections, a prison education, however carefully conducted, shuts the young out of the world which they are to live in, and cuts them off from all experience of the ties they are to respect. It confines them also to criminal companions, which alone is a great evil. Among those companions, some must be found of unusual perverseness of character, and able to do incalculable mischief, almost unchecked, to the rest.

‘These are great moral objections to the long imprisonment of young criminals.

‘But it is further an immense disadvantage to shut up *growing* people in their youth, when exercise and the free air are indispensable to the development of those limbs, by the strength of which they are to gain their bread.

‘The remedy for these evils is, to place young criminals, as soon as possible, in the families of farmers, or tradesmen willing for a money payment to receive them as apprentices. Trials already made of this plan in several departments, recommend it for more extensive use. Its advantages are undeniable. It separates ill-disposed young people from each other. It gives them the incomparably better education of a family, and the best instruction under a master’s care. Above all, when they behave well, it gives them kind friends.

‘The good character of the families to which they are to go is the first point to be established to the satisfaction of the authorities. The engagement must be subject to be cancelled, under certain specific circumstances, at the option of the authorities—and also at the will of the master. Especially if it be found proper to restore the young offender to his own family, provision must be made to allow of that step. During the whole term of apprenticeship also, he must be liable to be remanded to prison upon the solemn committal of a judicial officer.

‘The term of this apprenticeship is to be until the age of twenty, so that the apprentice may have time to learn his trade, and the master have the fair benefit of his improved skill and labour.

‘A fee is to be paid to the master with these apprentices, under certain equitable conditions for its repayment, if the engagement happen to be broken.

‘The contracts must be submitted to the approval of more than one of the authorities, and in case of any doubt, reference must be made to the minister’s office.

‘After the young criminal shall be placed in the selected family, a regular superintendence over his conduct and treatment must be followed up by the local authorities.

‘The expense of these proceedings is to be provided for out of specific funds; and copies of all documents concerning these proceedings are sent to the office of the minister, whose circular is here set forth.’

Annexed to the document from which the foregoing statement is taken, is a contract of apprenticeship of a boy of fifteen years of age, to a farmer. The engagement is, to employ the boy in such agricultural work, suited to his age, strength, and intelligence, as the farmer may think fit; and to feed him in health and sickness, provide him lodging, candles, fire, clothing, and washing, and otherwise treat him as a member of the family. On arriving, he was to have from the government a suit of clothes, linen, and shoes, with 1*l.* 8*s.* sterling; and within one year from the date of the contract, the master was to receive 2*l.* from the government.

The conditions for cancelling the engagement are—

1. Proved ill-treatment of the apprentice by the master; insufficient food, no domestic care, or bad teaching of the business.
2. Misconduct by the apprentice.
3. A judgment by a competent authority, or the requisition of the apprentice’s parents.
4. The requisition of the Attorney-General.

In case of the engagement being cancelled under the second, third, or fourth articles, the fee of 2*l.* must be paid to the master.

At the end of the term, the master must give the apprentice a good character in writing, if he deserves it.

Since the issuing of the minister’s circular, the proofs of the utility of the system have been abundant. In one town, Alençon, which did not enjoy the advantage of a regular penitentiary, fifteen boys, of whom twelve were convicted of theft, were apprenticed in this way; and three only ever committed a fresh offence. In Lyons, where, besides the superintendence of the government, and an active *society of protection*, or patronage, there is a remarkably good penitentiary, twenty-nine out of forty of the apprenticed criminal boys were traced in the following satisfactory way. Twenty-two of the twenty-nine were conducting themselves well in their places; six had gone back to their families, and one was set up as a working glazier on his own account. Of the remaining eleven, one had died, three had committed fresh offences, and seven had absconded; but two of the last seem to

have satisfied their masters. In Rouen the result has not been so satisfactory as in Lyons, thirty-five out of ninety-four cases having failed, or thirty-seven per cent. in Rouen, whereas in Lyons the failures were only twenty per cent.

Dr. Vingtrinier accounts for the difference by a careful comparison of the *penitentiary* systems pursued in the two places; upon which it is not intended to enter in this article, and also by a comparison of the different modes of applying the operations of the protection or patronage societies in them, which will be specially noticed.

In Rouen, a portion only of the young criminals—namely, those above sixteen years of age, have been apprenticed; which Dr. Vingtrinier considers to be a fatal error.

In Lyons, on the contrary, all the young criminals are apprenticed out as soon as possible after being put into prison.

In Rouen, the government authorities, and the protection, or patronage society, *do not pull together vigorously* to carry the new system out.

In Lyons, the most active co-operation exists between them.

These circumstances amply explain the advantage which Lyons has over Rouen in this matter, although some points in Dr. Vingtrinier's statement deserve further elucidation in reference to particular reasons for the Rouen failure; and he is justified in his zealous appeal to his own townsmen, and to France at large, to devote increased pains to a system which promises the greatest benefits to society, and which is in harmony with all our best feelings. It is most unwise, he urges, to set up vast prisons to teach every variety of trade to young criminals, as has been advocated in France, and tried elsewhere; or agricultural colonies of thousands of the same class, as others have proposed, against the apprenticeship and protection plan. Those prisons and colonies leave an increasing criminal population upon our hands, but the apprenticeships and superintending protection disperse it safely and improvingly over the surface of society at large.

The well-known distinctions between the French codes and English law are no impediments to the adoption of the foregoing system in England; and the inquiries necessary to be made in order to ascertain more of its working in France, and to determine whether any circumstances in the condition of our towns, or country, are opposed to its adoption, might be set on foot without difficulty. The reward of its successful introduction into England, would not only be the improvement of the prospects of young criminals, but the principle once well established in their case, might be extended to condemned criminals of every class, and of all ages; when an end would be put to the abomination of convict colonization; and our gaols at home would become, in

most cases, places of simple restraint to the perverse criminal, and of corrective introduction of the repentant to hopeful employment.

The subject of this article is not absolutely new in England; and some circumstances familiar to those who have attended to prison discipline among us are favourable to the adoption of the system which succeeds so well in France. But the whole plan will, we believe, be found to have much of novelty in it; and its bearing upon several most serious questions is important enough to justify the demand that it be not rejected without grave consideration.

Art. IV. *A Memoir of the Life and Ministry of the late Rev. Watts Wilkinson, B.A., with Extracts from his Correspondence.* By Henry Watts Wilkinson, M.A. London: Seeleys. 1842.

THIS brief memoir, occupying not more than seventy-eight pages, is introductory to one sermon, two outlines of sermons, and a large collection of more than one hundred and eighty letters. Of the memoir we have little to say, more than that it is an affectionate tribute of filial piety, written with much modesty and simplicity, and interspersed with such reflections on the few events recorded as could not but occur to an enlightened and religious mind. Several facts are recorded which afford the writer an opportunity—of which he has availed himself with an earnestness perhaps becoming his profession as a clergyman of the church of England—for expressing his dislike of what he calls ‘the disloyalty and factiousness of *modern* dissenters.’

The Rev. Watts Wilkinson was descended from presbyterian ancestors in the north. His great-grandfather was the Rev. Robert Blunt, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, and vicar of Kirke Harle, in Northumberland. Mr. Blunt was ejected from his living by the statute of uniformity, in the year 1662; and though he was prosecuted and excommunicated for continuing to discharge his ministry, he escaped in a surprising manner out of the hands of his enemies, and continued preaching every Lord’s day, while writs were issued against him, term after term, by the Archdeacon of Durham. In 1672 he obtained a licence to preach; but that being soon recalled, he was outlawed and fined 30*l.* in the Exchequer. Still he continued preaching to a poor country people in the night. In 1682 he settled with a congregation at Horsely, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he continued his ministerial labours till within two years of his death, in 1716, aged ninety-two.*

* See Palmer’s *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, vol. iii., p. 75.

Mr. Wilkinson's father having left Northumberland, and settled in London early in life, became a member of the congregation of Dr. John Guyse, the well known author of a paraphrase and notes on the New Testament. Mr. W. Wilkinson, the subject of this memoir, was born in London in 1755. His days of childhood were marked by the signs of a tender conscience and of religious feelings so usual in pious families, awakened in his case by the Assembly's catechism, deepened by the death of an infant brother, and frequently revived by the appeals of the pastor's ministry. When about seventeen years old, he was induced by a friend (who afterwards became a rector in Suffolk) to surmount his 'violent prejudices' against the establishment, and attend one of the Friday evening lectures of the Rev. H. Foster, at St. Antholin's Church. The sermon (from 2 Cor. ii. 11) was the means of his conversion, and he continued to attend the ministrations of the preacher, in whom he found a kind friend, as well as a faithful pastor. He soon expressed a desire to devote himself to the ministry, and thinking that a larger field of usefulness was presented to him in the established church than amongst dissenters, he tried to persuade himself that he might take orders with a good conscience; he examined the objections to the church which he found in the writings of some dissenters, and came to the natural result, that his former prejudices had been groundless. After availing himself of the best means of classical instruction within his reach, he entered as a Commoner at Worcester College, Oxford, in 1776. He spent great part of his long vacations at Olney, where he enjoyed the ministry and the friendship of the Rev. John Newton. To the friendship of another eminent clergyman, the Rev. R. Cecil, he was indebted for an introduction to the Rev. Michael Marlow, chaplain of Aske's Hospital, Hoxton, and father of the lady who afterwards became his wife. Having graduated at Oxford, he was ordained by Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, in 1779, as curate of Little Horton, Bucks. He began his public ministry at the church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, of which his friend and spiritual father, the Rev. H. Foster, was at that time lecturer. The subject of his sermon was 'the conversion of Manasseh.' He continued his curacy, till, at the close of the year, he was appointed, by a large majority of votes, to the afternoon lectureship of the united parishes of St. Mary, Aldermary, and St. Thomas the Apostle, London. He was shortly afterwards chosen to be the successor of his father-in-law, as chaplain of Aske's Hospital. Soon after this appointment, he married Miss Marlow, and took up his abode in the house appropriated to the chaplain of the hospital. The clerical charge at the hospital being but light, his time was mainly devoted to

preparation for his three sermons on Sundays. The most approved commentators, the older puritan divines, and especially Archbishop Leighton, engaged his unremitting study. In the course of years, his afternoon lectures were addressed to large auditories in the 'capacious church' of St. Mary, Aldemary, and the small chapel at the hospital became crowded, a large proportion of his hearers being constant communicants.

For a short time he became the evening lecturer in the church of St. Antholin, Watling-street, the place in which he had heard the gospel with so much spiritual benefit; but this situation he resigned on obtaining the morning lectureship at St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange. To this lecture at mid-day, in the very heart of commerce, crowded congregations were attracted from all parts of the metropolis, and occasionally from all parts of the country.

'The contrast between the scene without and within the church was peculiarly striking. *Outside*, a dense multitude of persons, apparently in eager pursuit of those things which are seen and temporal, deeply engaged in their worldly business, intent upon the acquisition of earthly riches, walking in a vain show, and disquieting themselves in vain, amidst the noise and bustle of carriages innumerable passing to and fro in every direction. *Within* the walls of the sacred edifice, a crowded congregation engaged in divine service, apparently in pursuit of those things which are unseen and eternal, seeking after heavenly riches, the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, listening to the words of eternal truth, the cheering promises of the gospel, proclaimed by the lips of one who was deeply conscious of his near approach to the invisible and eternal world, and spoke out of the abundance of his heart, from his own experience of the lovingkindness of Jehovah, during a period of little less than seventy years. Could any contrast be more striking?'—pp. 41, 42.

The following extract from a letter addressed by Sir William Knighton, physician in ordinary to his late Majesty King George the Fourth, to Lady Knighton, will afford an interesting illustration of the above statement:—

'Athenæum, January 5, 1836.

'I am just returned from hearing old Mr. Wilkinson in the city. I think he must be above eighty, quite clear and distinct. A beautiful old church, thronged to fulness. I could only just get in, and stand at the door. I was not in time for his text. I should think it was on 'Regeneration.' The first words I heard from him were, 'Remember that the day of death is the day of judgment.' He then said, 'It has been truly stated that there were three joyous periods in the history of man. The first was the day of his conversion, when the finger of God, by his Holy Spirit, writes on the heart of man the comfortable assurance,—Thy sins are forgiven thee, by the redeeming blood of thy Saviour Jesus Christ. Under such circumstances, the

next joyous day is the day of our death, when all the miseries our mortal flesh is heir to terminate; and then comes the third period of our joy,—namely, our ascension into heaven.' This gentleman has the most striking countenance you ever saw. What a beautiful picture might be made of him, and of the marvellous variety of careworn faces, for it is near to the Exchange, by which his pulpit is surrounded.'—*Memoirs of Sir William Knighton*, vol. ii., p. 441.

His last sermon at St. Bartholomew's was on the 28th of April, 1840, after which time, the church, which contained the remains of Bishop Coverdale, and which had been the scene of Mr. Wilkinson's interesting and useful labours for nearly thirty years, was doomed to destruction: a few months later in the same year, he closed his public ministry at St. Mary, Aldermary. On his return home from his last public service, in which he had suffered greatly from a distressing cough, he expressed for the first time his apprehension that he should never preach again. During fourteen weeks of increasing infirmity and pain, he reviewed his private walk and his public labours, and ministered by his sweet example, as well as by his words, to the instruction and edification of his family and friends.

'It ought to be particularly observed how entirely he repudiated the unscriptural inferences which many persons have drawn from those sublime doctrines which he constantly exhibited and appealed to during his public ministry. On one occasion, in particular, not many evenings before his death, when expressing to one of his sons his apprehension that he should not survive the night, and at the same time his simple dependence on the mercy of God in Christ, as if his mind was still dwelling on these topics, though no one present had attempted to bring them to his remembrance, he emphatically observed, '*There is no such thing as reprobation*;' and after alluding to the opinion of President Edwards upon that subject, in a manner which plainly evinced the collected state of his mind, he immediately, with much solemnity and emphasis, quoted the following words:—'The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.'—p. 53.

The record of his final scenes on earth is given with touching simplicity, and it is happily in keeping with the uniform tenour of his character and labours. It affords a most beautiful and precious illustration of the elementary truths of the gospel as the hope and consolation of a venerable saint and minister, after the experience of nearly seventy years. 'On the night but one before his death, he was heard to say, 'Christ is worth more than ten thousand worlds.' One word more was heard from him; he repeated three times—*Name, name, name*; and what could have been in his mind but *that* name to which he had so often borne

witness, but which he had not then power to articulate, even that name which is above every name, besides which, there is 'none other given among men whereby we must be saved.' A gentle slumber followed; an affectionate daughter stood watching beside him, and observed how sweetly he appeared to sleep, how freely he breathed. In a few minutes she thought the breath had ceased; she listened intently, she could not be mistaken, it was even so. He was 'absent from the body, and present with the Lord,' even with that Saviour whom he so ardently loved, and so faithfully served. Without a pang, or a sigh, or the least emotion, the great, and to him, most glorious change, took place about eleven o'clock on Monday, the 16th day of December, 1840.

From the perusal of this memoir, combined with other testimonies, and aided by some personal recollections, we may present to our readers a faithful portrait of the private and public character of this amiable and excellent servant of Christ. No small part of the charm of his ministry was owing, we believe, to the striking countenance which so deeply impressed Sir William Knighton, and which no one who has seen can ever forget. In his later years, his aspect united the brightness of a happy heart, with the serene and chastened dignity of a grave and solemn office, in a degree which we have never seen equalled. He had the appearance of a man who lived *in* the pulpit, and *for* the pulpit, and who discharged its duties with a clear sight of the eternal world. Without the appearance of any kind of affectation, and seemingly unconscious of the singular popularity which he enjoyed for so many years, there was a simplicity in his whole manner which was inexpressibly delightful. Retired and unostentatious in his private habits, he mingled little with society, took no share in the public and busy movements of the Christian world, but came forth ever fresh from his closet to the labours of the pulpit, as one whose 'life was hid with Christ in God,' whose 'conversation was in heaven,' and whose heart was in his work. With no great comprehension, acuteness, or brilliancy of intellect, and giving scarcely any indications, either of the research, the imagination, or the passion which constitute the elements of eloquence, his discourses were rich in evangelical truth, in spiritual unction, and in tender earnestness, always plain, unassuming, and consolatory. To the spiritually-minded hearer, to the lover of decidedly Calvinistic doctrine, to the sorrowful, tempted, or anxious, his ministry was felt to be peculiarly attractive, and was gratefully acknowledged to be practically useful. It might be objected, we think not without reason, that in his discourses there was a want of mental power; that there was a too constant

recurrence to the same topics, however evangelical; that there was an undue prominence given to the merely consolatory portions of the Scripture, and that the comforting of believers was made too *nearly* exclusive in his aim. Amongst the crowds that might be seen hanging on his lips, there would usually be found a large proportion of professors belonging to various churches, to whom all these features of his ministry constituted their special charm; they repaired to him for that 'food,' as such persons express it, which they complained they could not gather from their ordinary teachers. That Mr. Wilkinson loved souls, that he preached from the heart, that he was richly imbued with Scriptural knowledge, that he had ever before him the solemnities of the last judgment, and the sublime issues of eternity, none who heard him could doubt; and to have maintained the position which he did maintain, amid the changes of this great and fickle city for more than sixty years, is a noble instance almost without parallel in the history of the Christian pulpit.

The sermon appended to this memoir, is not given as a specimen of the preacher's ordinary style, but 'as one that will be read with much interest by his friends, in consequence of its being the first sermon he delivered in the church of St. Mary, Aldermary,' and as indicating the manner in which he commenced a ministry in that church, which he was permitted to continue without interruption for the remarkable period of nearly sixty-one years.

It is a clear, faithful, well-composed discourse on 'Search the Scriptures.' After an appropriate introduction from the context, illustrating the *condescension* of our Lord's teaching, he takes for granted the inspiration of the Sacred Records, and proceeds to shew—

'1. What is to search the Scriptures, implying the greatest diligence and earnestness; an earnest desire to discover the truth, and earnest prayer to God for his blessing, and the aid of his Spirit to enlighten the understanding.

'2. He points out the encouragement we have to this duty, in their contents, and in the Saviour's command.

'3. He shows the blessed effect which we have reason to hope will follow this conduct, which is no less than 'eternal life.' He applies the discourse, by amplifying the following pertinent and pungent queries—'Does not the exhortation in my text, convict many of a most essential fault and neglect? Will not their condemnation be just who neglect the Scriptures? How precious ought this precious book to be unto us? A book which contains everything calculated to promote our happiness here and hereafter; a book which reveals those glorious truths of the gospel, which have supported the people of God from the beginning, and will be their support and comfort to the con-

summation of all things. These blessed truths animated the confessors of old, and inspired the martyrs with courage, so that they rejoiced even in the prospect of a cruel and agonizing death; and these truths now inspire the heart of every follower of Jesus, with unfeigned love and gratitude to his divine Lord and Saviour. Can we give a greater proof of depravity than by despising such a book?

‘Prize it, my friends, above your necessary food. Bear with me, while I entreat you, by everything that is sacred, or that is dear to you, if you love your own souls, if you desire eternal happiness, or fear eternal misery, *‘search the Scriptures,’* as the means of avoiding the one, and obtaining the other.

‘Lastly: Ought we not to love that precious Saviour who lays this command upon us, and who is himself the sum and substance of the Scriptures.’—pp. 92, 93.

After Mr. Wilkinson had concluded his public ministry, he composed two plans of sermons, which he did not live to preach; but which are published in this volume. They are able specimens of the art of preparing public discourses, and abound in just and happy thoughts. The numerous letters which fill up the remainder of the volume are not easily classified, and though we cannot select many passages of peculiar interest, we have no doubt that in reading them, the pious heart will be much cheered by the truly spiritual tone, the affection, the constant reference to God, and the deep humility by which they are pervaded.

We should not feel that we had discharged our duty to our readers, if we allowed our observations on this volume to close without one or two gentle, yet faithful, animadversions on some portions of it which contain references either by the subject, or by the author of the memoir, to the principles or practices of protestant dissenters. We know of no terms more expressive of the tone of these references, than *ignorant horror*. It may serve the temporary purposes of a timid party to represent the dissenters—with a nauseous monotony of repetition—as men who would turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction! who are not loyal to the Crown, who are allied with papists for a political purpose, with a view to the subversion of the established church, ‘the main bulwark of protestantism as well as of sound doctrine in our beloved land.’

But is it either discourteous, or, in the Christian sense, uncharitable, to affirm, as we now plainly do, that all this style of writing betrays a lamentable want of information, candour, or integrity, by whomsoever it is adopted, and by whomsoever it is encouraged? We would request the pious editor of these remains, either to understand the dissenters or to leave them alone. We assure him, from an acquaintance with the writings and doings of dissenters, more extensive than any which he would profess, that their loyalty, love of protestantism, and attachment

to sound doctrine, will bear to be compared with those displayed by the highest ornaments of the church, in which he fancies these principles are exclusively preserved; and further, that we will undertake to *prove*, that the conservation of evangelical truth in our own country, has been owing, under God, to those very principles of which he seems to be so much afraid. This is a matter deserving the serious attention of all parties, more specially of all lovers of 'sound doctrine,' in whatever community they may be found; but we have not space, in a cursory paper like the present, for treating it with the fulness of illustration and the length of argument to which it is so justly entitled.

We are amused,—certainly not affected in any more serious way,—at the manner in which the unpractised writer unfolds the process of his father's conversion to the established church. After introducing what he calls more properly than he perhaps intended, 'a *little* anecdote' about strolling into a church-yard, he treats us with a *little* note on the 'wilful and obstinate prejudice of dissenters against the office for the burial of the dead.' . . . He then tells us, with most edifying gravity, that his father was convinced 'that the New Testament contains no argument in favour of the Independent or Congregational mode of church government; and that he was strongly opposed to its fundamental principle, that spiritual authority to dispense God's holy word and sacraments is to be derived *solely* from the *call* of a society of professing Christians; and that he considered lay preaching to be liable to many serious objections;' that he was uniformly attached to the formularies of the church of England; that he regarded the Athanasian creed as one of the most excellent parts of the liturgy; that most of all he admired the office for the administration of the Lord's Supper; and that he cordially approved of the injunction that '*the consecrated elements** of the body and blood of Christ should be received kneeling; that he never deviated from strict conformity to the liturgy, or infringed in any respect the laws and regulations of the church.

Now all we have to say to these elaborate assurances on points which, for aught we can see, might have been fairly taken

* We should be glad to know in what precise sense, and for what reason this word, 'elements,' is applied to the bread and wine of the Eucharist. In Johnson's Dictionary the word 'element' is defined—1. The part or constituent principle of anything. 2. The four elements usually so called. 3. The proper habitation or sphere of anything, as water, of fish. 4. An ingredient, a constituent part. 5. The letters of any language. 6. The lowest or first rudiments of literature or science. We suspect that the use of this word, in application to the Lord's Supper, is full of mystery, mystification, superstition, or *no sense*.

for granted, is this. There are thousands of equally wise, pious, and conscientious men in England who believe that the office for the burial of the dead, *taken as a whole*, is objectionable when used so indiscriminately as it notoriously is. Some of these men, moreover, have proved, *out of the writings of church of England clergymen*, that the New Testament does contain solid and irrefragable arguments for the congregational mode of church government. We can inform the Rev. writer that what he condemns as the fundamental principle of that government, is no principle nor portion of it.

We could fill many melancholy pages with proofs of the 'ill consequences resulting from clerical preaching.' Not only has it evinced a tendency to bring the ministry into contempt, but has surrounded that ministry, in many thousands of instances, with the sighs of the devout, and the ruined souls of the deceived. We must add, that the *cordial* attachment of such men as the venerable minister whose remains are now before us, to all the superstition, formality, and submission to human authority, prescribed by the political rulers of the church of England, has done more than all the efforts of the dreaded dissenters to damage her, by enfeebling what is good, and by strengthening what is evil in that so much lauded engine *for forcing of religion on our people*.

Art. V. *The Modern Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, compared with Ancient Prophecy. With Notes and Engravings illustrative of Biblical subjects.* By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, Dollar. 12mo. pp. 576. Glasgow: Collins.

It is only within our own age that clear and comprehensive knowledge of the Holy Land has been accessible to the public. Curiosity concerning its state and the locality of its sacred scenes has never, indeed, been extinct in the civilized world, from the day when its religion challenged the inquiry, and demanded the faith of mankind. It may seem passing strange, that with the eyes of all Christendom, intent through so many ages upon this limited territory, so little should have been ascertained, and so much mistaken or utterly unknown. Yet so it is; until within the present century, it was not possible to acquire, even by the most diligent reading and patient investigation, a satisfactory acquaintance with the birth place of our religion, or the land traversed by the feet of our Emmanuel, and made famous by the deeds of his benevolence.

Many causes might be assigned for the incertitude of all that was related beyond the barest outlines of its geography and an-

tiquities. The very interest which Palestine has always excited in Christendom, has been either directly or indirectly the means of prompting superstition to fabricate its fables, and pass off its ignorance for exact knowledge. For many ages all information respecting this country was derived through this channel, and partook of its colouring. The extraordinary and perpetual revolutions to which it has been subject from the time of its people's fall; the decline of civilization, both in it and the neighbouring countries; the incurable vices of Mohammedan government, and the irreconcilable antipathies of the three principal parties, Jews, Turks, and Christians, who have all along been struggling either to gain, or keep, or regain the possession of Palestine, have been among the chief impediments to the acquisition of sound and complete knowledge of this pre-eminently interesting country.

Turkish jealousy of European curiosity has but recently subsided, so far as to afford facilities to travellers, and extend protection to men of science from other countries; for, of course, all the interest felt in the Holy Land is by foreigners. But thanks to Mehemet Ali; he has made his authority to be respected, and his power to be feared, by the most lawless of the Bedouins; so that, though there is not universal and absolute security against plundering banditti and official extortion and oppression, yet there is incomparably more security for person and property, at least of European travellers having lawful permission, than for many centuries past. Hence the vast improvement which has taken place in all works relating to this country within the last fifteen or twenty years. The difficulties, both of travelling and of gaining information, are now greatly diminished; and there can be no doubt that this is mainly owing to the comparatively enlightened views and energetic rule of the present Pacha. Indeed little more can be expected while Syria remains in its present political condition. Under Moslem dominion there is no hope of a thorough renovation. The social condition of the people cannot be materially improved while evils such as the following prevail—degrading ignorance and superstition among the nominally Christian, fatalism and tyranny among the Musselmen, and powerless revenge or moping melancholy among the Jews. There is no unity to be found throughout the land and among the different classes of its inhabitants; there is no sense of the value of knowledge, no respect for their rulers, no *heart* in anything—for there is neither science, patriotism, nor religion. These appear at present to be insuperable obstacles to further improvements; and yet the land itself still possesses all the means and appliances whereby a united people might raise themselves to dignity, independence, and happiness. The volume

which we have now to introduce to the notice of our readers is altogether a very seasonable and very satisfactory one. It may be described as a judicious summary derived, by laborious comparison and careful analysis, from all the best works which either ancient or modern authors have produced upon the subject. Although appearing so nearly about the same time as Robinson and Smith's great work, it cannot be expected to contain all the information conveyed by that last and best of books upon Palestine, yet the author has availed himself of the outline of their discoveries which those travellers first published in the American Biblical Repository.

The plan of this stay-at-home traveller was, first to make an imaginary itinerary over all the principal districts, and to introduce his readers to the most remarkable and interesting scenes, and then to exhibit the fulfilment of ancient prophecy in the present condition of the different contiguous countries of Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom. The work is, therefore, adapted not only to gratify the curiosity of the reader by a minute description of the most interesting of regions, but to confirm his faith in divine revelation, by showing how the testimony of every traveller, whether an infidel or a Christian, has contributed to prove the marvellous fulfilment of the most singular and discriminating prophecies, which are attached to the several sections of the land, and which may be said to be stereotyped for the instruction of the world in the present and long unaltered condition both of the country and its inhabitants, so that the words of ancient prophecy concerning them severally might be engraved upon the face of their respective rocks, and be read by every visitor as an emphatic, but exact description of the doom that has long been upon them, and which an overruling providence has not suffered to be materially changed by all the marvellous revolutions and convulsions which have transpired during eighteen centuries.

The following extract will afford our readers a concise view of the social condition of Judea, and at the same time illustrate the striking fulfilment of prophecy in the fearful and protracted desolations of the 'delightful land.'

'We shall now turn our attention to the various changes which Judea has undergone, and the character of the successive governments under which she has existed, for the purpose of inquiring whether the prophecy has, in this respect, been fulfilled. *I will give it into the hands of the strangers for a prey. Destruction cometh, and they shall seek place, and there shall be none. Mischief shall come upon mischief, rumour shall be upon rumour.*'—Ezek. vii. 25, 26. Since the hour the Temple fell, the history of the country is a continued series of disasters. Seldom has plague, or famine, or war, been absent from her

borders; and how often do we find her suffering from all these scourges combined. The various masters, under whose yoke she has successively passed, have studied only to oppress her. When the government of her own princes came to an end, she was converted into a Roman province. From the Romans she passed under the dominion of the Persians. She soon, however, returned to her former masters, under whose authority she continued till the seventh century, when she was finally wrested from the successors of Cæsar by the arms of the Saracens. In the beginning of the twelfth century her fields were desolated by the soldiers of Europe, who, impelled by a furious zeal, rushed to Palestine to rescue, as they said, the country from the infidels, but in reality to accomplish the woes which prophecy denounced against that unhappy land; and to Judea the religious bigotry of the west was as fatal as the keen sabres and fiery valour of the east. The fury of the crusaders in due time exhausted itself; but the hour of peace and security came not to this torn and distracted land. The measure of her woes was not yet full. After the Christians were driven out of her, more ruthless conquerors appeared upon the stage. Judea now fell under the dominion of the Mamelukes of Egypt. From their hands she passed, in 1516, into the possession of Selim, Emperor of the Ottoman Turks, whose swords extended the limits of his kingdom to the Libyan desert. Under the Sultans of this race has Judea continued for upwards of three hundred years, with no interruptions, save what has been occasioned from time to time, by the insurrections of rebellious pachas. The facts we have stated offer a clear fulfilment of the prophecy. Rumour has followed rumour; destruction has come upon destruction. No sooner has one cloud discharged its 'pitiless shower' of ills, than another of seven-fold blackness has gathered in the sky. Of the land, as well as of the people, we may say, in the words of Moses, 'thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed alway.'

'I will give it to the wicked of the earth for a spoil, and they shall pollute it.'—Ezek. vii. 21. This prediction has assuredly been fulfilled. When we review the long catalogue of masters under whose power Judea has fallen, we know not one of them to whom the epithet 'wicked' does not apply, and who have not acted as the prophecy foretold they would—'spoiled' the land by their oppression, and 'polluted' it by their armies. Since the hour the sun of her freedom set, the baleful stars of tyranny and superstition have beamed upon her from a darkened sky. When shall we find more fitting terms than those the prophet has furnished us with, by which to designate the government under which she presently (*at present*) exists—perhaps the most unprincipled, tyrannical, and avaricious on the face of the earth. In other countries the end of government is to maintain order, to encourage industry, to punish fraud, to repress crime, to reward obedience; but here government exists for no end apparently but to oppress and plunder those over whom it rules. Its head resides at Constantinople; and over each district is set a pacha. The appointment is given to the highest bidder; and, as gain is the only motive which leads any

one to assume the office, and, as the term during which it may be exercised, is short, the pacha endeavours to reap in a day the fruit of years. He regards the country he governs as his own private property, and his subjects as his slaves. His soldiers are ready to execute any command, however cruel or rapacious ; and though often guilty of the greatest atrocities, the seat of the supreme authority is too remote, the influence of the pacha in his own district, as well as at the head of government, is too great to allow of any one, however grievously he may have been wronged, bringing him to justice. The result of this tyranny on agriculture and trade is just what might have been expected ; it has reduced them to the lowest state compatible with the existence of the beings who live on the soil. The husbandman sows only what may suffice to feed him, and the artisan performs only so much work as may preserve his family from starving. To convey their efforts beyond this limit, were only to labour for their oppressor. ' O fatal despotism,' exclaims Mariti, when surveying the waste which Sharon now exhibits, ' thou causest sterility where nature placed abundance; thou enchainest the faculties of man, and buriest population in the bosom of the earth!' Volney has confirmed the prophet in a very remarkable manner. '*I will give it to the wicked of the earth for a spoil,*' said the prophet. 'The Turks,' says the traveller, 'consider the country only as the spoil of a conquered enemy.'

'An individual picture always affects us more than a general statement—the atrocities of one more than the atrocities of a thousand continued through as many years. We shall therefore present the reader with a brief sketch of one of the officers of the 'wicked' government. The name we are about to mention was long the terror of Palestine, and was well known to every traveller in the East; and certainly no ordinary measure of wickedness could have gained so great distinction, in so long and dark a list of tyrants, for the name of Djézzar Pacha. The term signifies 'the butcher;' and this not very enviable title he acquired by his manifold barbarities and murders. He was originally a Mameluke slave; and having, not by the most honourable services, ingratiated himself with the Porte, he rose by degrees to the Pachalic of Acre, which he held for a long period. Of this tyrant we may say, in the brief and emphatic terms in which Tacitus sums up the character of another oppressor who ruled in the same country eighteen hundred years before, though not for so long a period as Djézzar,—

Jus regium servile ingenio exercuit.

'The attendants who waited on him in his tower at Acre, bore on their persons the evident marks of the ferocious and savage disposition of their master, being frightfully disfigured and mutilated. He attended faithfully to the public interest, so far as his narrow views taught him that it coincided with his own. He built large granaries, but neglected the improvement of agriculture. Though his jealousy of his subjects rendered him cautious in going abroad, his cavalry scoured the country, levying the tribute of their master, and commit-

ting any atrocity he was pleased to enjoin. The limits of his extensive pachalic, which included great part of the Holy Land, might be easily known by the air of gloom and desolation with which it was overspread. Sometimes he went out in disguise, attended by an executioner; if he happened to surprise any one in what he accounted a fault, he pronounced sentence on him immediately. The criminal bowed his neck; the executioner struck, and the head fell. This tyrant, who died not many years ago, at nearly the age of eighty, is still remembered in Acre, in the streets of which, some of the miserable beings whom he mutilated may yet be seen. In the rapid exaltation of this oppressor from the base condition of a slave, and in the long list of extortions which he committed, and which fell heavily on the few Jews who dwell at this day in the country, we see the fulfilment of the prophecy, *the stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt come down very low. He shall be the head, and thou shalt be tail.*

‘Of late, the government of Palestine has undergone a change, but a change of such a nature as to show that the prophecy is still fulfilling. The Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, having conceived the project of throwing off the dominion of the Porte, in 1831 transported into Syria a large body of troops, under the command of his son, Ibrahim Pacha. Ibrahim dispersed the forces of the Sultan in several pitched battles; overran Syria; marched to Constantinople, and threatened the very existence of the Porte. A treaty was signed by Kutiah in 1833, whereby the government of the whole of Syria was ceded to the Pacha of Egypt; and the only mark of his dependence on the Sultan was a stipulated yearly payment of thirty-five thousand purses, a sum amounting to one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

‘This change has brought no relief to the inhabitants. If their Turkish rulers chastised them with whips, their Egyptian masters have chastised them with scorpions. The old taxes have been nearly doubled, and additional ones have been imposed. A personal tax, called *ferde*, is now levied from every male above the age of fourteen. The tax varies from fifteen to five hundred piastres, according to the supposed circumstances of the individual. It is with the Egyptian *ferde* as with the Turkish *miri*, each district must continue to yield the same amount as when the tax was first imposed; no allowance is made for emigration or death, and thus the *ferde* is often increased exorbitantly on individuals. The extortions of the petty governors have been put an end to by the Egyptian government; but illegal acts are frequently committed by the government itself, more oppressive and impoverishing than the petty tyranny which it put down. The inhabitants are often obliged to sell their wheat, timber, and oil to the pacha below their price. Their horses and mules are often pressed into the service of the army without any adequate return for their use; and common artisans are taken from their families and compelled to labour in the government works at less than half the rate payable for free labour.

‘But the severest measure of Egyptian tyranny is the conscription. The Syrian peasant’s cup of suffering was already full; this was the

drop which caused it to overflow. The day when the new levy is to be made is kept secret, but a Friday is generally chosen, being the Sabbath of the Moslem. Parties of soldiers having been previously distributed in the various quarters of the city, a gun is fired as a signal. Scarcely has its sound died away when the soldiers rush upon the citizens who are crowding to the mosques. Those whom they are able to enclose are driven away like cattle, and shut up in the great square of the Serai. After being examined by the army physician, if not physically disqualified, they are drafted into the regiments.

It is impossible to describe the grief and consternation which reign over the whole country at the periods of these forced levies. It is seldom that one day suffices to raise the requisite amount of men, and while the conscription is going on, the trade and agriculture of the country are completely suspended. The inhabitants of the towns and villages flee to the mountains, the ploughs are forsaken, and even the mule-driver, leaving his goods on the highway, seeks safety in flight. Between those on whom the conscription happens to fall, and the relatives from whom they are thus suddenly torn away, the most heart-rending scenes ensue. 'Within the enclosure,' says Mr. Farren, 'which files of armed troops surround, the wretched victims are crowded together, bowed down with despair, while, pressing upon every avenue, their wives and daughters and aged mothers may be seen, wildly darting their frenzied glances through the captives in search of a missing relative, or bursting into paroxysms of despair on beholding the lost objects of their fears; and all around the air is rent by the cries of these unfortunates, cursing, as I have heard them, the very name of their prophet, and invoking the Deity himself to avenge the cause of the poor and the oppressed.' Thus the prophecy is still fulfilling on this unhappy land. *I will give it into the hands of strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil.*—pp. 288—296.

This is a sufficiently gloomy picture of the sufferings of the people, and the wretched system of social government under which they groan. Its veracity is attested by every traveller who has ever visited the country. Under such oppressions, and with such calamities always impending over their heads, it is no wonder that the people are strangers to joy, and that the voice of music is rarely heard in the land. Where there is no protection to person and property, there can be no adequate industry, nothing that can approximate to prosperity. Human efforts require their natural stimulus of reward, or the fair hope of it; and without this it languishes.

The interest of the present volume is not confined to the Holy Land. The author has taken commendable pains to present to his readers a tolerably comprehensive view of those contiguous countries whose history is blended in sacred writ with that of Judea; and concerning which distinct prophecies are upon record. The present condition of Ammon, for

instance, supplies many remarkable features which strikingly illustrate the inspiration of those prophecies, in which they were depicted so many centuries ago, and when there was no human probability of their accomplishment. The country of Ammon is next to the territory of Judea, is bounded from north to south by the Jordan, and at about the middle, between Bashan and Gilead on the north, and Moab on the south; while the land of Edom is found still further south, below the lake into which the Jordan flows. The whole of this central territory called Ammon, is beautifully diversified with hill and dale, and retains traces of the most abundant luxuriance. The amazing extent of its population may be inferred from the ruins which abound over its whole surface. The hills and vales and plains everywhere appear to have been crowded with human habitations, and a vast proportion of these display evidences of art and luxury which may well fill the traveller with admiration and astonishment. Civilization must evidently have risen to a high pitch in Syria at a very early period, and long before its first elements had reached the European nations. Mr. Wylie gives an interesting outline of the history of Ammon and its people, from which, as bearing particularly upon the fulfilment of prophecy, we must make some citations.

‘Of the wealth and power of the Ammonites in early times, and the great fertility of the country, there can be no doubt. The wars they waged with the Jews, and the heavy imposts they sustained, attest their great national resources. When the country was invaded by the Saracens, at the period we have indicated, Gibbon attests that it was enriched by trade, that it contained strong and populous cities, and was covered with a line of forts. At this day, whatever spot happens to be cultivated yields the richest returns; and though the country generally is a desert, yet here and there occur tracts of surpassing beauty and richness; and what must have been the original fertility of that soil, which so many ages of neglect have not been able to exhaust? The ruins that cover her plains, likewise attest the number of the ancient cities of Ammon. * * * *

‘How utterly improbable must the desolation of Ammon have appeared at that period. Conquered she might be; but no one who thought of her fertile soil, opulent cities, and extensive commerce, could have believed it possible that so rich a country should remain for ages in ruin—that for many generations her fields should cease to be cultivated, and her cities to be inhabited. Yet such was the doom which the prophets denounced against her.

‘From a comparison of the prophecies relating to Ammon, it is clear that this country was to be visited with a first and second destruction. It was expressly foretold that Ammon should recover from her first overthrow; but after her second desolation she was to be known no more—she was to perish out of the countries. (See Jeremiah, xlix. 2—6; Ezek. xxv. 1—7.)

'About the year of the world 3468, Cyrus, King of Persia, having made himself master of the Chaldean empire, granted permission to the Ammonites to return to their own country. 'Afterwards, I will bring again the captivity of the children of Ammon, saith the Lord.' Their return was a short time posterior to that of the Jews. Planted a second time in their own country, their trade returned, their population increased, and their cities rose into more than their former splendour. Their ancient enmity against the Jews was still retained; and living on their borders, they found frequent opportunities of displaying it. The gospel appears to have been introduced into Ammon in the first ages of Christianity; and the fact is attested at this day by the ruins of churches which are still to be met with in their country. Their prosperity as a country continued till about the year 635 of the Christian era, where they were invaded and overthrown by the Saracens. It was to this last and final overthrow, from which it was foretold the nation of Ammon should never revive, that our attention is now to be turned.

'Son of man, set thy face against the Ammonites, and prophesy against them, and say unto the Ammonites, hear the word of the Lord God. Thus saith the Lord God, because thou saidst, aha! against my sanctuary when it was profaned, and against the land of Israel when it was desolate, and against the house of Judah when it went into captivity; behold, therefore, I will deliver thee to the men of the East for a possession, and they shall set their palaces in thee, and make their dwelling in thee. They shall eat thy fruit, and they shall drink thy milk. And I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the Ammonites a couching place for flocks; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. For thus saith the Lord God, because thou hast clapped thine hands, and stamped with the feet, and rejoiced in thy heart with all thy despite against the land of Israel, behold, therefore, I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and will deliver thee for a spoil to the heathen, and I will cut thee off from the people, and I will cause thee to perish out of the countries. I will destroy thee, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.' (Ezek. xxv. 1—7.)

'Ammon retained her prosperity till a long period posterior to the giving of this prophecy. Every succeeding year witnessed the extension of her trade, and every succeeding age saw new cities arise to adorn the country. The longer she existed, the infliction of her doom became the more improbable. Prosperity continued to flow upon her, the prediction of the prophet appeared to be forgotten, and Ammon, doubtless, was saying with another city, 'I shall sit a queen for ever.' As she contemplated from her strong frontier, the undisciplined and savage hordes which roamed over the eastern desert, she might bid defiance to the doom with which the prophecy of Ezekiel menaced her. Nevertheless, the hour drew on—the fatal hour which dried up the channels of her trade, brought down her princely cities to the dust, and converted her smiling fields into a silent and dreary waste.

'*I will deliver thee to the men of the East for a possession.* In 632, the country of Ammon, together with all the countries on the East of the Jordan, was invaded by the Saracens, 'the men of the

East.' The inhabitants of Syria were unable to contend with the children of the desert. The valour of the Saracens, inspired by religious enthusiasm, and stimulated by the prospect of enjoying the luxuries of Syria, no feeble temptation when we consider the naked desert from which they had come, rendered their arms irresistible.

* * * * *

'The fortunes of the country, since the hour it became a possession of the men of the East, have been in striking accordance with what the prophet foretold. *I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and will deliver thee for a SPOIL to the heathen.* At present, this fine country is possessed by the Arabs, and governed by the Turks. We have already seen the manner in which the Turks treat the countries which they govern. In the language of Volney, singularly coincident with that of the prophet, they consider them a 'spoil.' Ammon has formed no exception. Everywhere her soil exhibits signs of the greatest fertility; but of what avail are the riches of nature when they are never turned to account by the industry of man. Spring opens upon her plains, but there the sower is never seen. Autumn comes round; but when no seed has been sown, no harvest can be reaped. On her fields we are able to discover only a few Arabs feeding their flocks on the spontaneous produce, and gathering them at night into the ruins of the cities. And to what is this state of matters owing? It is to be attributed entirely to the tyranny of those who have made the country a spoil. All travellers unite in deprecating the Turkish tyranny,—in other words, in bearing their testimony to the truth of the prophecy which foretold that these countries should be a spoil to the heathen. A writer who visited Syria in the end of the seventeenth century speaks of the 'Turks ruling with a lawless sway, and not allowing those they injure to complain.' * * * *

'Thus far have we shown the fulfilment of the prophecy as regards the land of Ammon. She fell by the hands of brutish men, and skilful to destroy. She has been given to the men of the East for a possession; they have set their palaces in her, and made their dwellings in her; they have eaten her fruit, and drunk her milk; and from the hour she was conquered to the present day, she has been a spoil to the heathen.'—pp. 375—385.

The author proceeds to give a sketch of the present aspect of the country. He takes us from Zsalt, which is situated about twenty-two miles from Abon Obeida, in the plain of the Jordan, by Feheis, to many ruined towns, and principally describes the desolation of Rabbah, whose fortifications, temples, triumphal arches, castles, and a splendid amphitheatre, astonish the beholder with the evidences which they supply of the art and wealth of the former inhabitants of these regions.

It is quite impossible to give our readers even a specimen of the author's description of the ruins and monuments, not less interesting, which are strewed over the countries of Moab and Edom. The latter country supplies many of the most sublime

monuments of antiquity, as well as many most remarkable verifications of all that is recorded in the volume of inspiration, concerning the doom of those ancient contemporaries of the Jews. The singular fact must strike every inquiring mind. Ammon, Moab, and Edom, as nations, are extinct. The children of Israel still survive. They await some future destiny. The prophecy is as exactly fulfilled in the extinction of those nations that were the perpetual enemies of Israel, as in the preservation of the seed of Jacob, though scattered among all nations; while the desolate condition of the countries they severally inhabited, and the present improbability of their improvement, exhibit the most perfect agreement, even in the minutest particulars, with the doom that was inscribed against them all in the sacred scroll of prophecy ages before their prosperity had begun to decline.

From the length of the extracts we have given, our readers will rightly conclude that we consider Mr. Wylie's book an exceedingly interesting and instructive one. It contains the marrow of all that has been brought to light relative to these countries. We have no fault to find, save that occasionally there are repetitions of former statements, and a few Scotticisms which offend English ears. We trust the author will have an opportunity of correcting these blemishes, by the demand for another edition. It is one of the best books we know, both for Bible classes to read, and for vestry libraries to contain.

Art VI. *The History of Woman in England, and her influence on Society and Literature from the earliest period.* By Hannah Lawrance. Vol. I. to the year 1200. London: Henry Colburn.

MISS LAWRENCE is already advantageously known to the public by her *Memoirs of the Queens of England*, a work which, for sound research, enlightened appreciation of historical evidence, and able disquisition, is entitled to a high rank amongst the historical productions of our day. The work now before us, of which the first volume only is yet published, has evidently grown out of the former, and will constitute a most interesting and valuable supplement to it. 'In the course of reading for the former work' we are informed, 'the interest of the writer was awakened by the many valuable notices of female society, which not only the monkish chronicle, but the legal record and the household book supplied; and when she turned over the pages of many a forgotten Anglo-Norman poet, she discovered, with increased interest, that not to queens alone, but to many a high-born lady, our literature owed its chief encouragement. Still, as she proceeded in her pleasant task, she found each contemporary

remain—legend, tale, miracle, play, will, inventory, diary—combined to throw a vivid light, not merely on society during the middle ages, but especially on the condition of woman in England.’ The object of the present work is to trace the progress of female society in England, from the earliest period of her history, and thus to illustrate the influence of woman on our civilization and literature.

Great attention has recently been paid by several distinguished writers to the claims and duties of women, yet no attempt has been made to exhibit an historical view of their mental and social condition, or to define the influences they have exerted on the progress of society, or on the formation of those habits and that state of feeling on which so much of its well-being depends. This is an important omission, which we are glad to have supplied by so competent a writer as Miss Lawrance. The department she has chosen is one for the occupation of which she is eminently fitted. Intimately acquainted with the earlier records of our history, she possesses also a sound judgment, a discriminating taste, and an intuitive perception of the proprieties of different ages, which are rarely found in combination. Various theories have recently been propounded on the character of the female mind, some writers having maintained, with a gallantry more suited to a former than to the present age, its equality, if not its superiority, to that of the other sex. For ourselves, we are little interested in such a question. Each intellect has its own distinctive characteristics, and a scope for its activity to which the other is wholly unsuited. We refer to the subject only to remark, which we do with pleasure, that Miss Lawrance avows no theory on this point; she expresses no opinion respecting it; she does not even note that such a question has been raised, but prosecutes her legitimate inquiry with a singleness of purpose which promises well for the result.

The present volume commences with the invasion of the Romans, and brings down the history to the early part of the thirteenth century. The masculine courage and tragical fate of Boadicea, one of the early British queens, are familiar to most of our readers; but her atrocious wrongs endured at the hands of the Romans are not so commonly known. The following account of this remarkable woman will be read with interest:—

‘The next female name is one well known to the general reader, and deservedly so, as of one who bravely, though unavailingly, fought for freedom—Boadicea, or probably more correctly, Bonduca. The fate of this unfortunate queen was what has unhappily been too common in the history of colonization, although few treated with equal cruelty have inflicted as severe a revenge. Boadicea was the widow of a king of the Iceni, a powerful race, inhabiting the eastern part of Britain,

and her husband at his death bequeathed to her his throne and half his treasures, at the same time constituting the Roman emperor—probably to secure his aid against the neighbouring tribes—joint-heir with his two daughters of the remaining half portion. The imperial procurator, however, seized the whole treasure; and when the widow remonstrated, he caused her to be scourged, and her daughters to be seized and treated as slaves.

‘The cruelly injured queen loudly proclaimed her wrongs; she collected multitudes together, to whom she detailed her sufferings; she pointed out the oppressive tyranny to which they were subjected, the heavy taxations imposed on those who had submitted to the Roman yoke, and concluded by denouncing that rapacity which, not content with spoiling the living, ‘had taxed even the dead.’

‘Her burning words excited the fiercest emotions in the listening multitude that surrounded her; she then took a hare which she had concealed in her vest, and let it slip, that by its course the attendant Druids, among whom the hare was viewed as a sacred animal, might foretell the result of the enterprise. The turnings and windings of the affrighted animal were pronounced of favourable omen—the Druids promised victory; the multitudes shouted aloud, and Boadicea prepared to lead by her valour those whom her resistless eloquence had gathered around her.

‘The march of the immense but undisciplined army was southward. They soon reached the flourishing city of Camulodunum (Malden), and reduced it to ashes. They next held on, unopposed, toward London, even at this period a wealthy and populous city, but inhabited chiefly by Roman colonists. London shared the same fate as Camulodunum; for a superstitious terror seems to have paralysed the Romans, and Boadicea and her army passed onward to Verulam, the municipal city; and ere the legions of Suetonius could arrive, its splendid buildings lay a smoking ruin, and the barbarian army was loaded with its spoils. At length the Roman forces combined near London, and offered battle. The site of this desperate but decisive conflict has been variously stated, but the rising ground to the north of London, where, until very lately, the traces of a large Roman encampment were clearly to be seen, was most probably the spot.

‘Here, at length, the well-disciplined legions of Rome and the barbarian army met, and again Boadicea addressed her people, conjuring them to fight bravely. She reminded them of their late successes, urged them to make one other effort to achieve their freedom, and then, as though prophetic of the result, added, that although the men might choose to live and be slaves, she, a woman, was determined to conquer or to die. The Britons again advanced with shouts; but the Roman legions received the shock firmly, and then, forming a wedge, broke through the large but unconnected human mass, and fearfully avenged the slaughter of their countrymen. Seventy thousand Romans are said to have been put to death by the Britons in the preceding conflicts;—eighty thousand Britons now fell in this fatal battle. Boadicea, ‘disdaining to survive the liberties of her land,’ drank

poison; nor can the historian deny his meed of admiration to the unfortunate queen, who fought and fell with Roman courage.'—pp. 6—10.

Of the Saxon women generally it is difficult to obtain any very definite account. The historian is compelled to draw out his conclusion from an extensive collection of minute particulars, between some of which it is difficult to establish a perfect congruity. Those who occupied the higher stations of society do not appear to have been in a condition much inferior to that of the Anglo-Normans. Their clothes and jewels, such, at least, as were possessed prior to marriage, were disposable at their own pleasure, and the number and value of these possessions were by no means inconsiderable. The social habits of our Saxon ancestors coincided with the respect shown by their laws. Their women were not excluded from their feasts or their amusements, but presided at the grandest entertainments given by their lords. The little that can be gleaned respecting the other classes of Saxon women is presented by our author in the following passage:—

‘Of the middle and lower orders of Saxon women we can learn but few particulars. Although an hereditary aristocracy did not exist among the Saxons, they recognised various ranks; and prohibited by custom, if not by express law, intermarriage of the higher with the inferior. Four classes were recognised among them; the etheling or noble, the free or landholders, the freedmen (these probably answered to our working classes) and the bondsmen, consisting of those who had been taken captive in war, or who had incurred the loss of freedom as a punishment for crime.

‘Of the females belonging to the second and third classes, our notices are very few. Probably they consisted of but few individuals compared with the servile class; and as, although it is likely they lived in comparative comfort, they had few gifts to bequeath to the neighbouring monastery, the record of their unobtrusive but useful lives has wholly passed away. The easy labour of the distaff, and the more difficult employment of the loom, doubtless formed their chief occupation; and not improbably, in some instances, might aid in providing for the family: but at this early period there was scarcely a market for home produce, since the nobles among their extensive households numbered every species of workman and workwoman, from the smith and the carpenter, the weaving and sewing maiden, to the woodcutter and the grinding slave who toiled at her rude handmill to grind corn for the family.

‘But although we seek in vain for those pictures of domestic life, or those minute traits that might bring female society in Saxon times vividly before us, from the unexceptional testimony of the laws we find that each class of women not only enjoyed legal protection, but that the protection afforded to females was insured by a *double* fine. The principle of pecuniary compensation for injury is the leading

feature of Saxon jurisprudence. Each individual had the protection of the *were* and the privilege of the *mund*. The first of these, the *were*, was the legal valuation of the person, varying according to his situation in life; 'If he was killed, it was the penalty his murderer had to pay for his crime; if he committed crimes, it was the penalty which, in many cases, he had to discharge.' The *mund*, or *mundbyrd*, was the right of protection—of civil protection—'the principle of the doctrine that every man's house is his castle;' and this, like the *were*, varied according to the class to which each belonged. Thus, on reference to the oldest code of Saxon laws extant, that of Ethelbert, king of Kent, we find the king's *mundbyrd* guarded by a penalty of fifty shillings, while that of an earl's was estimated at twenty. But superior protection was granted to women, and thus the *mundbyrd* of the earl's widow was the same as that assigned for the king himself, and that for the woman of the second class was the same as for the earl. For the woman belonging to the third class, the *mund* was *twelve* shillings, the sum assigned for the man of the second class; while for the bondswoman the *mund* was six, the same price as that of the *ceorl*. If a widow was carried away from her dwelling against her consent, the compensation was to be double her *mund*; and forcible marriages were prohibited under the severest penalties, ecclesiastical no less than civil. From the laws of King Ina, we learn that a *ceorl*'s widow was allowed the guardianship of her child until it was of age, the kindred taking care of the paternal possession, and allowing her a fixed sum for its maintenance. In the laws of King Canute a curious passage occurs, which proves that the wife, even among the lower classes, was considered as having an exclusive right to her domestic stores. 'If any man bring a stolen thing home to his cot, and he be detected, it is just that the owner should have what he went after. And unless it has been brought under his wife's *key-lockers*, let her be clear; for it is her *duty* to keep the key of them,—namely, her store-room, her chest, and her cupboard. If it be brought under any of these, then she is guilty; but no wife may forbid her husband that he may not put into his cot what he will.'

'Of the condition of the largest class of females, the bondswomen, we can obtain very little information; but while the situation of the bondsmen appears to have been most degraded, there is great reason to believe that that of the female slaves was comparatively comfortable. In a rude age, when laws are weak, and society unsettled, and even a subsistence often most difficult to obtain, the 'theow,' under the protection of a kind master, actually remained more secure, and certainly more assured of a provision than the small holder of land or the free servant. Now the female theow was not only secure of these, but, from the very offices she was called to fill, could scarcely fail to become an object of kindness, probably even of affection, to her mistress.'—pp. 50—54.

The genius of Alfred, the greatest of Saxon monarchs, was elicited by the cultivation of his step-mother Judith, the daughter

of a foreign race, and descended to Ethelfleda, his eldest daughter, of whom Miss Lawrance furnishes the following brief history:—

‘His eldest daughter, Ethelfleda, is described by all the contemporary historians as possessing a greater share of his talents and energies than any of his other children. She was married early in life to Ethered, ealderman of Mercia, and appears to have distinguished herself during her father’s lifetime by the wisdom of her counsels. On the accession of her Edward the elder, we are told that she became his chief adviser; and on the death of her husband Ethered, in 912, Edward appointed her ‘lady of the Mercians,’ a name by which she is more frequently designated than by that of Ethelfleda. Her government of this important portion of the land was judicious and vigorous. The same year that she was appointed she built the fortresses of Shergate and Bridgenorth, and in the following year the Saxon Chronicle relates that she went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and built the fort there; also one at Stafford, and in the autumn one at Warwick. Three years after, according to the same venerable authority, ‘the innocent abbot Egbert, having been slain by the Welsh, she within three nights sent an army into Wales, and stormed Brecknock, and took the king’s wife and other noble women.’

‘Within two years after, ‘the lady of the Mercians’ added the town of Derby to Mercia, and, in 920, ‘took the town of Leicester without loss, and the greater part of the army submitted to her. The people of York also promised, and confirmed it, that they would be of her interest, and had begun to take the oaths,’ thus taking the first steps toward the incorporation of the kingdom of Northumbria with Mercia; but, ‘twelve nights before midsummer, in the eighth year of her holding the government of the Mercians with right dominion, she departed, and her body lieth at Gloucester in the east porch of St. Peter’s church.’ The loss of so active a coadjutrix was bitterly lamented by Edward, who, though a wise and active king, does not seem to have possessed those military talents which were so pre-eminent in his sister. It is, however, very probable that ‘the lady of the Mercians’ possessed, like her father, more valuable qualities than mere warlike skill. She is represented by Malmsbury and Higden as an active restorer of those towns within her dominions that had been destroyed during the Danish invasions; and so warmly did popular feeling dwell upon the deeds of the wise and valiant Ethelfleda, that in the curious old chronicle of England, which details in rude numbers the doings of our kings, from the apocryphal days of Brute, down to those of Edward the First, the minstrel turns aside from the celebration of Edward the elder to sing the praises of ‘the lady of the Mercians.’—pp. 134—136.

The battle of Hastings effected a momentous change in the social habits, as well as the political institutes of the kingdom. While its immediate consequences were disastrous, humiliating to the national spirit, and fraught with a thousand forms of suf-

fering to the high born and noble, its more remote effects were friendly to the advancement of the people, and the development of those capabilities which were latent in the national mind. It introduced new and softening elements into its character, and laid the basis for those more civilized and permanent forms which our Society has subsequently borne.

The Saxon nobility were, no doubt, in many cases wrongfully dispossessed of their estates, which were divided amongst the military retainers of the Conqueror: but great benefits followed the establishment of Norman rule. The contemporaries of William saw only the evils which flowed from his victory. They felt the iron sway of the Norman as a national degradation, and mourned over the change of property and rule which was consequent thereon. This was perfectly natural in their circumstances, and we may well excuse the bitterness of their invectives. Our own position, however, is far more favourable to an accurate estimate of the change. Centuries have elapsed since the death of Harold transferred the government of England to the Norman line, and it would be the height of folly to question the immense advantages which have resulted from it. The qualities of that chivalric race softened and meliorated the rude character of our Saxon ancestors, and ultimately formed, in conjunction with it, a national mind in which the love of liberty is indigenous, and on which is still reposed the best hopes of our world. 'Norman luxury and refinement awakened Saxon improvement; Norman scholarship aroused Saxon intellect; and Norman prowess stimulated Saxon valour.' The Saxon chroniclers were accustomed to portray in the darkest colourings the licentious and tyrannical outrages perpetrated by the Normans, but in this there was much exaggeration, as Miss Lawrance and other writers have shown.

'The fact that on the invasion of William many women fled to the convents and sought the protection of the veil as a guard against the insults of the Norman soldiery, has been often brought forward as a proof of the grievous oppressions under which the Saxon community laboured. But the equally well authenticated fact that a very short time after—a time when, according to the self-same writers, tyranny and injustice on the part of the invaders were at their height, these recluses supplicated leave to quit their convents and mingle again in the cares and pleasures of secular life, proves that the fears they had entertained were groundless, and that the Norman yielded that respect to Saxon women which, neither from the Danish invaders nor from the more powerful among their own countrymen, they had heretofore received.

'Very little can be ascertained in regard to the situation of the lowest class of women at this period. These were the bondswomen;

and that many availed themselves of the advantages proffered by the walled towns, where uninterrupted residence for a year and a day ensured them freedom, cannot be doubted; while that those who remained were not in a worse condition than when under Saxon rule, may be easily believed from the attention which the Conqueror paid to this class, directing the services of the serfs on each manor to be defined, that in future time more might not be demanded. Of that class of bondswomen whose services were domestic, we may also well believe that their condition was even improved, by falling into the hands of a Norman mistress.

‘In all peculiarly female work the Saxons, from the highest orders to the lowest, were eminently skilful, while the Norman women never seem to have practised any of those occupations which were the pride of the rival race. Thus the weaving maiden, and the maiden skilled in needle-work, though only on rude canvass, and coarse as the Bayeux tapestry, must have become objects of importance to the Norman female, who, for the first time in her life, on William’s triumphant return to Rouen, had beheld the splendidly brodered garments of the Saxon nobles, which, as William of Poictou informs us, excited equal admiration with the beauty of the plate and jewellery, and the loveliness of the Saxon youth who wore them.’—pp. 198—201.

Miss Lawrance has directed considerable attention to the monastic institutions of the Saxon and Anglo-Norman ages, and has brought together a mass of information which cannot fail to be deeply interesting. Those of the former period were distinguished by a peculiarity which has greatly perplexed many writers. The choice of the prior was with the lady abbess, by whose instructions he was bound to regulate his conduct. Miss Lawrance accounts for this departure from the usual ecclesiastical rule, by the fact, that nearly all the early monasteries were founded by women of royal birth, and that, as the conventual rule was but a domestic rule on a larger scale, the high-born Saxon women were deemed more fitted for it than ‘the men who, though equally high-born, had been trained up to consider war and the chase as their sole occupations.’ At a later period, schools were connected with the conventual houses, which, as exercising extensive influence over the character and social condition of the women of the middle ages, receive at the hands of our author particular notice. The nuns of this period were not so completely shut out from general society as their more modern descendants. Miss Lawrance informs us:—

‘They were allowed to receive visitors in the presence of another nun; and on some occasions, ‘secular women’ seem to have been allowed to sojourn for some time in the house. From the injunctions of the dean of St. Paul’s, before referred to, we find that, in respect to this convent, St. Helen’s, Bishopsgate, the nuns were accustomed to have visitors, and to entertain them with dancing and other recrea-

tions; this, however, was severely condemned. Nor was the nun strictly confined within the walls of her convent; she was permitted to visit her parents, or her near relations, for recreation, or to attend them when sick, or to follow them to the grave. She was also allowed to quit the house if sick, for change of air, or 'to make cures'—an incidental remark, which proves how highly prized was the medical skill of the nun. Permission for those purposes was given her in the chapter, but if she required a longer time of absence, the bishop or superintendant of the convent was to be applied to, and he could give licence for an indefinite period; but, on her journey, she was always to be accompanied by suitable attendants, and the abbess or prioress was escorted by her chaplain and attendant nuns.'—pp. 277—280.

Of the schools connected with these establishments, it is difficult to form any very precise notion. Miss Lawrence, we suspect, rates them somewhat too highly, but their existence at such a period, and amidst elements so uncongenial, is in itself a deeply interesting fact which deserves the grave consideration and study of the historical student. Her account of them is as follows:—

'All the convents that followed the Benedictine rule were bound to have a school; and to this part of their duty the nuns gave willing obedience. These convent schools were the great fountains from whence education was supplied to the female part of the population during the middle ages; and the notices which we can gather respecting the illustrious women of that period, prove that the convent school well fulfilled its purpose.

'That the school was viewed as a necessary adjunct to the female convent early in this century, is proved from the remarks of Ailfred of Rievesby, who wrote near its close, in which he evidently considers the task of instruction as one of the most usual occupations of the nun; and although he seems to object to her thus employing her time, yet his remarks rather refer to the want of discipline, and probably the extreme youth of the children, than to convent instruction in general.

'There are some nuns,' says he, 'who turn their cell into a school. She sits at the window, the child stands in the cloister; she looks earnestly at each of them, and while watching their play, now she is angry, now she laughs, now she threatens, now soothes, now spares, now kisses; now calls the weeping child to be beaten, and then strokes her face, and catching her round the neck eagerly caresses her, calling her 'her little daughter and darling.' This species of 'infant-school,' the worthy writer probably considered beneath the dignity of the convent, but we may thank his graphic description for preserving to us so pleasing a picture of the nun of the middle ages.

'Convents were, however, even to a late period, the abode of young children. The two young half-brothers of Henry VI., Edmund and Jasper Tudor, were consigned to the care of the abbess of Barking; and the children of benefactors to these establishments were often, on the death of one or both their parents, placed beneath the protection of the lady abbess or prioress.

‘The regulations under which female scholars were admitted, have not been handed down to us; it is questionable too, whether these schools were not in large towns *day-schools*. And while the higher classes received an education suitable to their rank, it appears that the middle classes were not neglected; a very old man having told Aubrey, that just previously to the dissolution of the monasteries, he had, when a boy, been accustomed to see the nuns of St. Mary, near Bridgewater, go out into one of the meadows belonging to the house, surrounded by their scholars, each with a distaff in hand.

‘It is probable, that as Lanfranc’s rule directed all education to be gratuitous, the instruction provided in female convents was gratuitous also. It however, appears, toward the later period, that money was paid for boarders; and we find, from Dean Kentwode’s injunctions to the nuns of St. Helen’s, that some of them received *private* pupils; for he expressly says, ‘Also, we ordeyn that noon nun have, or receive noo chyldren wyth them into y^e house forsayde, but yf (except that) y^e profit turne to y^e vayle of y^e same house.’

‘The nuns who did so, were most likely those who were highly distinguished in the various branches of convent education, and from whom, therefore, the parents of the scholars were anxious to obtain the advantages of a more exclusive attention than the general scholars received.

‘The regular convent school was most probably under the superintendence of the *præcentrix*, an officer whose duties, as we have seen, were of a more *literary* character than those of her sisters. As the keeper of the library, she must have been what is termed one of the ‘learned nuns,’ and from her the scholars probably received instruction in ‘grammar,’ which, in the phraseology of the middle ages, signified a knowledge of Latin. To her, doubtless, was also assigned the task of teaching music,—a science from the very earliest period assiduously cultivated in female convents; for the exquisite sweetness of the nuns’ singing has been dwelt upon by many a middle-age writer.

‘With her, as is the case in modern female convents, the nuns whose education and whose tastes fitted them for the office of teachers, seem to have been associated; and those who, scarcely capable of imparting instruction in the more literary branches, were distinguished for their skill in the subordinate departments of education, taught, under her superintendence, those various works of skill or usefulness which, no less than ‘grammar’ and music, formed the routine of the convent school.

‘Among these works of skill, the foremost place must be assigned to that art in which the English woman, especially the inmate of the convent, stood pre-eminent among every European nation,—the art of embroidery.’—pp. 291—296.

The present volume, as already intimated, brings down the history to the close of the twelfth century, furnishing, as our author remarks, ‘a dim and shadowy sketch, in which, although we may catch a faint gleam of the ‘cloth of gold,’ ‘cloth of

frieze,' is scarcely discernible.' From this period a clearer light is shed on the progress of society in England, and we anticipate no small pleasure in accompanying Miss Lawrance through the more luminous and picturesque era which follows. Her labours cannot fail to be highly appreciated, more especially by her own sex, to whom, as indeed to all our readers, we strongly recommend the volume. It combines in an eminent degree, sound sense and solid information, with the more attractive qualities of female authorship.

Art. VII. 1. *Geology for Beginners*. By G. F. Richardson, F.G.S. 12mo. 1842. London: H. Bailliere, 219, Regent-street.

2. *Models of Teeth and Bones of the Ignanodon Hylæosaurus and Gavial*. J. Tennant, 149, Strand.

3. *Sopwith's Geological Models, with Description*. J. Tennant, Strand.

IN reading, as we have with much pleasure read, Mr. Richardson's *Geology for beginners*, we could not avoid recurring to our early experience in this study, with a feeling of regret that we had not the facilities which this interesting volume is fitted to impart to the class for whom it is designed. Compared with the tortuous path we traced, and the many *detours* we made, a *cul de sac* being sometimes the reward of many a weary day's wanderings, the path along which we have passed during the last few days in Mr. Richardson's agreeable company has been indeed a royal road. We advert to our own early experience only because we know it is that of many others, and because we are convinced that there is a large class participating in the general interest now felt in the 'wonders of geology,' who really 'wonder' whether the supposed difficulties of 'geology' can ever be overcome. There is no lack, indeed, of guides, whose assistance is readily proffered to the inquirer, and whose pens scribble freely enough on this and every subject on which the public are known to feel an interest; but we regard it as highly important that first steps should be taken under the direction of those who have traversed again and again the country through which the traveller wishes to pass, and who are well qualified to indicate the *route* he should take. The successful teacher of geology, as well as of every other science, should be familiar with the end at which the pupil ought to arrive, in order that he might save him from all useless expenditure of study, just as the ploughman should eye the point he would gain if he would cut a straight furrow in the field.

It too frequently happens that those who have made any proficiency in science, render but little help to 'beginners.' In some instances the successful student feels encouraged, by the attainments he has made, to undertake the mastery of difficulties which still remain to be conquered, so that he has not the leisure, perhaps, certainly not the inclination, to guide the first doubtful steps of the pilgrim; in others, the difficulty of teaching is felt to be greater by far than the difficulty of learning, and a large amount of knowledge has been accumulated, while the art of communicating it to others has yet to be acquired; while, sometimes it must be confessed that selfishness and pride stand like two gruff porters at the temple of science, not to welcome but repel the inquirer for admission. Be the cause what it may, the fact 'stands confest,' that much has yet to be done on behalf of those who are thirsting for knowledge, and by those who having reached the fountains of intelligence, are best fitted to guide its streams into channels where they are most wanted, and will be most welcome.

In Mr. Richardson, the beginner will meet with a guide to his geological studies who has himself (and we suspect not very long since) battled with the many difficulties which come in the way of the inquirer, and having conquered them all, consecrates his attainments to the benevolent work of facilitating the progress of others. The ladder on which he has ascended to his present position he leaves behind him, and waiting at its summit he encourages and guides the footsteps of all who are willing to follow him. As the curator of the Mantellian collection, he enjoyed many advantages of which he has diligently availed himself, and as the result has succeeded in giving to the volume before us the same interesting and popular style that pervades 'the Wonders of Geology,' of which he was the editor; rendering it, however, as he proposed, 'more introductory than the excellent introduction of Mr. Bakewell—more elementary than the admirable elements of Mr. Lyell.'

In pursuance of his design, our author devotes a large part of his book, nearly one half, to the discussion of various topics with which the student must be acquainted before he is prepared to make any progress in understanding the more elaborate works which constitute the literature of geology, or in traversing for himself the various fields which the science lays open before him.

We must confess that we are not prepared to agree with the definition of geology which represents it as 'the inquiry into universal nature, extending throughout all her kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral; and comprising, in its investigations, all time, past, present, and to come;' while at the same time we are

not displeased at the enthusiasm which leads the author of this definition to see so much in his favourite theme.

'Beginners' will not expect to derive from a single volume the means of perfection in any one department of geological study, much less will they suppose that Mr. Richardson can render them perfect geologists; all that he aims at is to indicate the numerous subjects which should engage the student, and to show the means by which adequate information is to be obtained. In pursuing his design, the author directs the attention of the learner to mineralogy, physical geology, fossil conchology, fossil botany, and palæontology, detailing the phenomena of these subjects with sufficient amplitude to meet his inquiries. 'Guides,' and 'elements,' and 'introduction,' generally take it for granted that the learner has already made some proficiency in those sciences which ought to be brought to the study of geology. Our author, on the other hand, proposes to meet the case of those who have not made these attainments, and he therefore gives in one book the information which must generally be sought for in half a dozen. Thus, as mineralogy is indispensably necessary in the study of rocks, a chapter is devoted to that subject, and contains a sketch of its history, the laws of crystallization, the various crystalline forms, and an investigation of the external characters of minerals. To prepare the student for entering on fossil conchology, minute directions are given as to the mode of conducting the study, the various parts of multivalve, bivalve, and univalve shells are described by wood cuts and written description, the names and etymologies of some of the most familiar genera are given, and the cabinets to which the inhabitant of, or visitor in, London may have access, are named. As a specimen of the author's manner, and of his care to point to sources of information, we give an extract from this chapter.

'Shells are the hard bodies which are secreted for the purpose of cover and protection by the soft, inarticulate animals, which inhabit them, called the mollusca. The creature, shortly after it is formed in the egg, begins to construct its shell, and when hatched it deposits on the edge of the mouth of the little shell, which covered its body in the egg, a small portion of mucous secretion. This mucous deposit next dries up, and as soon as it is dry, the animal lines it with a fresh layer composed of other mucous matter, intermixed with other calcareous particles as before. This alternate deposition of mucus, and of mucus mixed with calcareous matter, proceeds as the creature enlarges, and requires more ample cover and protection, and in this manner literally 'grows with its growth, and strengthens with its strength.' The shell is, in fact, moulded on the body of the animal, as the body itself increases in size, forming a cover or a dwelling, a coat of mail, a shed, a boat, a ship, or a palace of pearl, adapted to the exigencies and fitted to the

shape of the wearer. The inequalities or irregularities of the body itself are also reproduced on the shell, and the elevations, depressions, striæ, tubercles, and spines, which distinguish individual objects, may be attributed to corresponding projections or tentacula, or other irregularities in the fleshy form of the constructing agent. Thus, as an eloquent writer has observed, we find that different species of shell-fish are enclosed in various kinds of testaceous coverings. Those which defend the active family of *Donax* enable them to dart away from the approach of danger; while the shells of their less active relatives, the perambulating *Solens*, or razor-sheaths, are admirably adapted to assist their movements through the yielding sand. The chitons walk abroad in coats of mail, closely fitted to their shapes, and surrounded with narrow belts or margins covered with scales. The shields of the pholades bristle with points, resembling a file, by means of which they are defended from external injury, when occupied in slowly excavating the most solid rocks; and the hospitable mansion of the peaceful pinna is large enough for the reception, together with himself, of his friend and guest, the hermit crab. The conically shaped patilla, or limpit, remind the observer of dwellers in solitary tents; the helices, or snails, slowly perambulate the garden walks, in coverings which remind us of those of a broad-wheeled wagon; the cardia, or cockles, are provided with thick coverings, which enable them to endure the rough beating of a boisterous sea, while the shells of such species as are fragile, transparent, and scarcely able to resist the slightest pressure, are found in still ponds and muddy ditches. . . .

‘The student is referred to cases 3 and 4 of the fifth room in the North Zoological Gallery, in the British Museum, in which are provisionally placed a suit of shells intended to exhibit the more prominent points in the economy of the mollusca. Among the interesting and instructive facts thus displayed are, the mode of growth, the changes which take place in the shell during the increase and expansion of its inhabitant; the manner in which these creatures repair any accident to their shells, or remove, by absorption, any portion which has become unnecessary or inconvenient: these cabinets further present illustrations of the graduation of the straight, or nearly straight, tubular shells into those of a spiral character, as well as specimens of monstrosities and deformed shells; with examples of the mode in which the animals cover, with a shelly coat, any extraneous body attached to the shell; and they further contain an instructive series of moulds and casts.’—pp. 207—209.

The chapter on fossil botany epitomises in a very instructive manner the works of Lindley, Hutton, Buckland, Sternberg, and others who have laboured in those ancient fields from which our fossil flora are obtained. In a very small compass it conveys a great amount of information, which will assist the learner to make a general arrangement of any coal plants he may be able to collect. According to the arrangement of M. Adolphe Brogniart, the whole vegetable realm is divided into six grand classes,

five of them being illustrated by some of the more interesting specimens, of which many very beautiful wood engravings are given.

The subject of fossil animal remains (palæontology) is introduced by a table containing Cuvier's arrangement of the animal kingdom, to which the learner must constantly refer until he has committed it to memory. From the descriptions given of various fossil animals, we select the account of the *missourium*, or *tetracaulodon*, as many of our readers have probably seen the majestic specimen itself in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. The description is an abstract of Professor Owen's valuable paper read to the Geological Society.

‘Professor Owen, after observing that the specimen was one of the finest ever discovered, and worthy the place of honour in any museum, proceeded to describe its structure, and to ascertain its real position in the animal kingdom. He remarked that the bones, from want of a correct knowledge of its osteology, were placed in an unnatural state of collocation, from which circumstance both its height and length were greatly exaggerated, and he stated its correct dimensions to be about ten feet in height, and about sixteen in length. The two tusks of the upper jaw, which are placed extending in a horizontal direction, he described as occupying an undue position, and observed that they ought unquestionably to be curved upwards; the fact that one of them was found occupying the horizontal posture being of no importance, since the mode of insertion is such as to allow the tusk to rotate in any direction. Addressing his attention next to the generic appellation, *tetracaulodon*, he denied the existence of such a genus as that established by an American *savant*, Dr. Godman, and described the facts to be as follows:—The young mastodon, he stated, possessed four tusks, two in the upper, and two in the lower jaw. The two in the upper jaw remained through life, while the two in the lower jaw, in the female, both decayed and fell out as the animal grew up, the sockets becoming obliterated altogether; in the male, the left one only perished, and the right remained—a circumstance, he added, which ought to have suggested the name *tricaulodon*, rather than *tetracaulodon*, as better descriptive of the supposed new genus. In conclusion, from its osteological structure and general characters he had no hesitation in declaring it to be no new animal, but a very fine specimen of a species of mastodon already known, and described and figured by Cuvier as the *mastodon giganteum*.’—p. 308.

Some of our readers perhaps may not have met with the interesting fact mentioned by Mr. Richardson in describing the habits of the *teredina*, which is one of the many proofs of the great advantage the arts may derive from the contemplation of ‘art in nature.’

‘As the animal of this shell secretes and deposits in the wood a shield or tube for its protection, Sir I. Brunel is stated to have adopted

the idea of perforating the bed of the Thames by defending his progress with a shield from the example thus taught him by the operations of this apparently unimportant and insignificant worm.'—p. 340.

One of the most remarkable subjects for the study of the beginner in geology is furnished by the new red sandstone formation, which contains the footsteps of extinct species (not to say genera) of animals, most clearly and beautifully defined. To these impressions, and to the very few remains that have been discovered of the animals by whom they have been made, Professor Owen has (we are happy to say) directed his attention, and the result of his investigation we give in Mr. Richardson's words:—

‘ Having directed his attention to these footsteps, and to the remains of the reptiles, consisting of bones and teeth, which had been observed in beds of this character, both in Germany and England, he arrived at the conclusion which, with the highest degree of probability, referred the impressions in question to an animal of a totally different class, (i.e., from the *marsupials*;) he ascertained, on a microscopic investigation of the teeth, that the genera *phytosaurus* and *mastidon-saurus*, established by Dr. Jager, on teeth of like character with these, are in fact one. . . . The fossil teeth, both from England and Germany, exhibited externally the usual reptile form and character, but internally they presented a more complicated texture, approaching that of the *ichthyosaurus*, yet differing from that and all the other reptiles hitherto discovered, whether recent or extinct. As the texture of these teeth, under the microscope, presents a series of irregular folds, resembling the labyrinthic windings of the human brain, Professor Owen proposes the name of *labyrinthodon* for the genus.’

After giving a wood-cut containing a very beautiful ‘ section of the tooth of the *labyrinthodon*,’ we are told,—

The professor farther ascertained from the examination of various bones procured from the same formation, that he could determine three species of *labyrinthodon*, and that in this genus the hind extremities were much larger than the fore. Hence the idea was first suggested, that the tracks in question were those of the newly found gigantic frog. It was further observed, that the footmarks of the *cheirotherium* were more like those of toads than of any other living animal; and lastly, that the size of the three species of *labyrinthodon* corresponded with that of the three different kinds of footsteps which had already been supposed to belong to three distinct individuals of *cheirotherium*. Finally, the structure of the nasal cavity showed the *labyrinthodon* to be an air-breathing reptile, since the posterior outlets were at the back part of the mouth, instead of being directly under the anterior or external nostrils. It must have expired free air like the saurians, and may in all probability have imprinted on the shore those footsteps which, as before mentioned, were conceived to have been impressed

by an animal walking on dry land. He had long believed that the footprints were those of a batrachian, and most probably of that family which includes the toad and the frog, on account of the difference of size in the fore and hind extremities; but that in consequence of the peculiarities of the impressions, he had always considered that the animal must have been quite distinct, in the form of its feet, from any known batrachian or other reptile; and thus in the labyrinthodon, he observes, we have a batrachian reptile, differing as remarkably from all known batrachia, and from every other reptile, in the form of its teeth.'

Geology is a highly practical science, and will amply repay the attention it may receive from the cultivators of the fine and useful arts, an illustration of which is furnished by the recent investigations made, with a view of discovering the most suitable material for the Houses of Parliament now being erected. A passing notice of this subject is given under the head of 'MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE, OR ZECHSTEIN.'

'This substance has lately been brought into use and repute for architectural purposes, buildings constructed of it having been ascertained to be extremely durable, and to have resisted for ages the attacks of time and the weather. The stone is found, in fact, to combine the varied qualities so much desired by the architect, but so seldom found in the same material, uniting the softness and facility of working of the oolite above, with the hardness and compact texture of the more crystalline rocks below, while the magnesia which it contains is so unfavourable to vegetable growth as to check that miniate vegetation which frequently disfigures the building stones in general use. Qualities thus valuable induced the members of the commission for selecting stone for the new Houses of Parliament, to give the preference to this material over all others which they had the opportunity of inspecting. It was remarkable that in this stone the carbonates of lime and of magnesia exist in nearly equal proportions.'—p. 441.

Throughout his book, Mr. Richardson has carefully studied the improvement of his readers; and in addition to the information he has himself given, has carefully indicated the sources from which further treasures may be derived. The heading of one of the chapters will serve as a specimen of the manner in which these sources of information are pointed out. Let us take for example—

'THE CHALK FORMATION.—Chalk, craie of French; kreide of German authors; chalk-marl, English; craie-tufau, French; kreide-mergel, German; green sand, English; glauconie-crayeuse-sableuse, French; chloritische kreide, gruner sand, German.

'MUSEUMS.—Geological Society, collection of Dr. Mantell in the British Museum; that of Mr. Bowerbank, Mr. Saull, Mr. Dixon, of

Worthing, Mr. Purdue, and many private collections in the Southern and Eastern counties, Yorkshire, &c. &c.

‘AUTHORS.—Mantell, Lyell, Phillips, Woodward, &c.

‘CHARACTERISTICS.—First of the secondary formations; marine; the bed of an ancient sea, containing the usual marine fossils, weeds, plants, corals, shells, fish, and reptiles.’

It would greatly facilitate the study of geology if some arrangement were made for the delivery of lectures at the British Museum, as was recommended by all the scientific persons examined before the Committee of Inquiry of the House of Commons in 1836. We deem it to be most advisable that this great national collection should be employed to the greatest possible extent consistent with the careful preservation of the specimens. It is to be hoped that we shall not long be behind our neighbours in France, where, as we are reminded, ‘they manage things better,’ and where, as at the *Jardin des Plantes*, the benefit of very excellent lectures is enjoyed by the public.

‘*The models of fossils*,’ prepared by Mr. Tennant, furnish the student, or the lecturer, with very perfect representations of some highly important and characteristic remains, the originals in most cases being among the most valuable things in the British Museum. The very low price of these ‘models,’ and the faithful accuracy with which they represent their originals, must ensure for them a very wide circulation. They would form very valuable additions to museums in the country, where they would assist more effectually than any other means to convey just ideas of the magnitude of the vast creatures whose remains they exactly represent. If the oft-quoted adage of *ex unô disce omnes* be strictly applicable to any object, that object is a petrified tooth, or bone of some fossil animal, as Cuvier has shown us, and as the science, of which he may be regarded as the parent, every day shows us. For this reason it is that preparations of ‘the claw bone of the gavial,’ ‘the tooth of the *Ignanodon*,’ ‘the humerus of the *hylæosaurus*,’ and some dozen others before us, are of very great value; and to our cordial recommendation of them we beg to add the wish that they will be followed by many others.

‘*Mr. Sopwith’s Geological Models*’ afford the same kind of assistance in studying various strata, beds of coal, and mineral veins, that the fossil models yield in the study of various organic animal remains. Plans and sections, however well they may be executed, cannot possibly impart the vivid and accurate idea which ‘models’ convey. Those by Mr. Sopwith are the result of actual measurement, and on a reduced scale, and exhibit most correct pictures of the objects they are to represent. They are made of various kinds of hard wood, and the workmanship they

display is remarkable for finish and beauty. We are happy to find that Mr. Sopwith's models obtained the medal of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and that from the highest quarters they are receiving the commendation they deserve, to which we have great pleasure in adding our own.

Art. VIII. *Contributions towards the Exposition of the Book of Genesis.*

By Robert S. Candlish, D.D., Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh.
Edinburgh, 1843. crown 8vo. pp. vi. 438.

To meet the keen and active leader of the non-intrusionists in this more private and peaceful field of pastoral labour, is a change as full of charm as that which Pitt's admirers realized when they spent an interval of leisure in his society at Dropmore, or that of Fox's friends, when leaving with them for a season the heated and stormy atmosphere of St. Stephen's chapel, he sought relaxation and relief in literature and the culture of geraniums at St. Anne's. To welcome such a change implies no disapprobation of that course of agitation and conflict with which the public at large may have been accustomed to associate the author's name. A sense of duty may, it is clear, oblige a faithful minister of Christ, in these as well as in former days, to say 'we ought to obey God rather than man,' and Dr. Candlish in this respect professes to have taken his stand upon the ground of conscience. To his own master, therefore, let him stand or fall; and we are not careful to judge him in this matter; it is the Lord that judgeth. The volume now under review invites us to a subject quite sufficient for our present leisure.

These 'Contributions' do not profess to be a complete exposition of the book of Genesis; neither are they a series of sermons or lectures upon it. They are rather essays upon some prominent topics in this earliest of all literary records—topics not requiring a minute or critical examination of the sacred text, so much as its real illustration by means of those scattered Scripture parallels which are so frequently overlooked. The author's object has been rather 'to unfold those views of the Divine government and history of man, which the general strain of the narrative in its obvious interpretation suggests;' and the title of his work has been selected as one adapted to express his design.

The essays are twenty in number, and the subjects of them are without exception interesting. Three are on creation; one on the primeval condition of the earth, and of man; two on the temptation and its fruits; one on the first patriarchal form of the dispensation of grace; one on the state of the world before the deluge; one on the deluge; three on the constitution of the

new world, in the departments of nature, providence, and grace ; one on the Divine grant of the earth to man, and its occupation by Noah's descendants ; and seven on as many interesting ' passages ' of the life of Abraham. It has a little surprised us that no subjects have been taken from the history of the Abrahamic family subsequently to the mature age of the patriarch himself, especially as the origination of the Ishmaelites and Edomites (to say nothing of the Moabites and Ammonites, the descendants of Abraham's relative, Lot, who afterwards occupied so prominent a place in history and prophecy as the most virulent enemies of Israel) would have opened a rich field for those investigations of Providence which possess such attractions for the author ; but we suppose the reason why the work stops where it does is, that enough had been prepared to fill a volume, and that a continuation of it, though not announced, will not be wanting, if the public interest in what has appeared be sufficient to encourage the author to proceed.

We have stated that the principal object of the work is the illustration of some prominent facts connected with the early history of the earth and of man, by means of passages and considerations gathered from the wide field of Scripture. Dr. Candlish has, in his preface, explained his views respecting some of the principles which have guided or assisted him in his investigations, with an explicitness, adapted, better than anything which we could say, to convey a just idea both of his object and his method.

' There are one or two principles of exposition to which reference is made in these pages, and which might admit of fuller illustration and vindication. Thus, the extent to which we may avail ourselves of the undoubted fact of an oral revelation having preceded the written Word, as affecting the manner in which that Word would probably be composed, and the kind of evidence it might be expected to afford of the leading truths of religion—the amount of acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel which may be presumed in the early world, as rather alluded to and taken for granted, than communicated for the first time, in God's discoveries of himself to the fathers,—the value of incidental quotations from the Old Testament, in the New, as warranting the application of hints thus given, considerably beyond the particular passages quoted,—the legitimate use of resemblances, parallelisms, and analogies occurring in the comparison of incidents and predictions, under different and far distant dispensations,—together with the limit between a sound and safe discretion and a fanciful licence, in filling up the brief sketches and outlines of the inspired record, and drawing inferences from them, (presuming upon a certain spiritual tact, or taste, or apprehension, a feeling of probability, a kind of sense of concinnity or congruity, which, even apart from such precise and palpable evidence as can be critically or logically stated,

will often give, to a rightly constituted mind, a prompt and full assurance of the mind of the Spirit ;) these, and some other general inquiries, bearing upon the subject, might furnish interesting matter for several dissertations, and might in part, perhaps, be exemplified in the present exercise.'

We do not place much confidence in anything so vague as 'spiritual tact or taste,' which, as commonly understood, signifies neither more nor less than a sentiment for whose correctness no voucher can be offered but feeling, but we suspect that in these and the following expressions Dr. Candlish has darkened his own counsel with words of dubious import. A mind habitually exercised in comparing spiritual things with spiritual, and which, in reference to the objects of experience, does not rest satisfied with empty notions, but aims at realizing, in the form of experience, everything of a subjective character which is represented in the Scriptures as the fruit and the reward of a sincere and faithful adherence to the word and will of God, will doubtless discern many links in the great chain of providential causes and effects, many signs of the connexion between Divine purpose, on the one hand, and human instrumentality and its various and complicated results, on the other, which elude the observation of others; but we should hardly call this '*tact*,' or speak of it as '*a feeling of probability, a kind of sense of concinnity or congruity*, which, even apart from such precise and palpable evidence as can be critically or logically stated, will often give, to a rightly constituted mind, a prompt and full assurance of the mind of the Spirit.' Dr. Candlish, writing his preface in haste, as it seems to us, has not done himself justice in this explanation; he has allowed his readers both to misunderstand him and to incur the risk of error for themselves. A truly spiritual taste or judgment, call it which we will, is not so blind and reasonless a fancy as might be inferred from these expressions. It stands in the same relation to spiritual things, as that rare faculty called common sense—a much-abused term too—stands in to common things; it is an acquired sagacity, for which some may, indeed, have a greater constitutional predisposition than others; but always, where it is a faculty under command, and applicable, at its possessor's will, to its proper objects, an acquired one which pronounces no judgments, and prescribes no conduct for which some intelligible justification cannot be rendered to the reason. We should not have noticed this accidental oversight of the author, but for the strong sense we have of the necessity of disabusing the religious world in reference to an error to which it is exceedingly prone. All persons, indeed, not those only who sustain a religious character, are too apt to be satisfied that their own minds are rightly constituted. The latter class, it must be

admitted, are usually less chargeable with arrogance in this respect. But we speak what is a fact, and known to be so, that it is a very common thing for minds which have been religiously impressed, and have become conscious of new and most important views on spiritual subjects, 'to conceive a prompt and full assurance of the mind of the Spirit, presuming upon a certain spiritual tact, or taste, or apprehension,' or even 'a feeling of probability,' or 'kind of sense of concinnity or congruity, apart from evidence,' that we consider it a matter of real and deep necessity to remind them that a spiritual judgment, and, indeed, religious experience in general, is not so blind a thing as many imagine; and that it is the duty of every Christian to build up his convictions, whether as respects faith or duty, in the clear light of Scripture evidence, and in the exercise of an ever-growing knowledge and discernment.

In other respects, the hints in this extract point out some important facts and principles connected with Scripture exposition, too much neglected on the whole, though, excepting the first, they have also, at different periods, been more or less abused by persons of imaginative habits. We should be highly pleased to see a volume of dissertations, from the pen of Dr. Candlish, illustrative of his deliberate opinions on these and the kindred inquiries referred to in his preface.

To those who know the author only as a strenuous antagonist of ecclesiastical patronage, it may be necessary to say that his volume is thoroughly evangelical in sentiment, and eminently practical in its applications. No subject is either carelessly or tamely handled; some are brought out with considerable force of argument, and firmness of delineation. As a work consisting of a Series of Essays, less is attempted in the way of touching or imaginative description, though some of the subjects—the Death of Abel—the Translation of Enoch—and the Deluge, for instance—offered fair opportunities for it, than of argumentative elucidation; and this is consequently its chief characteristic and, we may add, sufficient recommendation. That it is so, we know to our own cost, and possibly our reader's too. Twice, since the volume came into our possession, has it been abstracted, and by different parties, from our library table, and the thanks with which it was in both cases returned were all the compensation we received for being interrupted in our own perusal of it.

Amidst the many passages which might be selected as specimens of the author's manner, it is, as usual, difficult to choose; we have fixed upon the following, not for any peculiar merit distinguishing it from other parts of the volume, but on account of its relevancy to a subject which has of late years been a cause of anxiety to many inquiring minds. It is from the second essay:—

‘The divine record of creation, remarkable for the most perfect simplicity, has been sadly complicated and embarrassed by the human theories and speculations with which it has unhappily become entangled. To clear the way, therefore, at the outset, to get rid of many perplexities, and leave the narrative unencumbered for pious and practical uses, let its limited design be fairly understood, and let certain explanations be frankly made.

‘1. The object of this inspired cosmogony, or account of the world’s origin, is not scientific, but religious. Hence it might be expected, that while nothing contained in it can ever be found really and in the long run to contradict science, the gradual progress of discovery might give occasion for apparent and temporary contradictions. For the current interpretation of the divine record in such matters will naturally accommodate itself to the actual state of scientific knowledge and opinion, so that when science takes a step in advance, revelation may seem to be left behind. The remedy here is to be found in the exercise of caution, forbearance, and suspense, on the part both of the student of Scripture and of the student of science; and, so far as Scripture is concerned, it is often safer and better to dismiss or qualify old interpretations, than instantly to adopt new ones. Let the student of science push his inquiries still farther, without too hastily assuming, in the meantime, that the result to which he has been brought demands a departure from the plain sense of Scripture. And let the student of Scripture give himself to the exposition of the narrative in its moral and spiritual application without prematurely committing himself, or it, to the particular details or principles of any scientific school.

‘2. The essential facts in this divine record are, the recent state assigned to the existence of man on the earth,—the previous preparation of the earth for his habitation,—the gradual nature of the work,—and the distinction and succession of days during its progress. These are not, and cannot be, impugned by any scientific discoveries. What history of ages previous to that era this globe may have engraved in its rocky bosom, revealed or to be revealed by the explosive force of its central fires, Scripture does not say. What countless generations of living monsters teemed in the chaotic waters, or brooded over the dark abyss, it is not within the scope of the inspiring Spirit to tell. There is room and space for whole volumes of such matter before the Holy Ghost takes up the record. Nor is it necessary to suppose that all continuity of animal life which had sprung into being, in or out of the waters, was broken at the time when the earth was fashioned for man’s abode. It is enough that then first the animals of the sea, and air, and land, with which man was to be conversant, were created for his use; the fish, the fowls, the beasts, which were to minister to his enjoyment and to own his dominion.

‘3. The sacred narrative of the creation is evidently, in its highest character, moral, spiritual, and prophetic. The original relation of man, as a moral being, to his Maker, is directly taught. His restoration from moral chaos to spiritual beauty is figuratively represented. And as a prophecy, it has an extent of meaning which will be fully

unfolded only when 'the times of the restitution of all things' (Acts, iii. 21) have arrived. Until then, we must be contented, probably, with a partial and inadequate view of this, as of other parts of the sacred volume—'the sure word of prophecy whereunto we do well to take heed,' but which still is as 'a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day star arise in our hearts.' The precise literal sense of much that is now obscure or doubtful, as well as the bearing and importance of what may seem insignificant or irrelevant, will then clearly appear. The creation of this world anew after its final baptism of fire will be the best comment on the history of its creation at first after the chaos of water, and the manner, as well as the design of the earth's formation of old out of the water will be understood at last, when it emerges once more from the wreck and ruin of the conflagration which yet awaits it,—'a new earth, with new heavens, wherein righteousness is to dwell.' (2 Peter, iii. 13.)—pp. 19—22.

In perusing this volume, we have been occasionally reminded of several different—indeed very different—writers. Under the seventh and tenth essays, in particular, we were reminded of the late Mr. Roby's useful volume on the evidences and dispensations of religion, a work, simple in character, but eminently adapted for the young. At other times, Mr. Forster's discourses on subjects of scripture history were strongly recalled to our recollection, but rather from an occasional similarity of manner than any other coincidence, for Mr. Forster's sermons all belong to a later period of Bible history. At other times, again, we have caught a glimpse of Dr. Russell, of Dundee, who, both in his letters, and, if we mistake not, in his two publications on the dispensations and covenants, has made use of the psalms in the same broad style of application as Dr. Candlish has done. But of all who have written congenially, on congenial themes, the writer who has reappeared most frequently to us, is the author's friend, Dr. Robert Gordon, whose energy in argument, and urgency of application, find at times almost a counterpart in the present volume. We have named these several writers, not exclusively for the purpose of suggesting to those who are familiar with them, some idea of Dr. Candlish's work, but with the further design of assisting those whose interest in such studies may have been stirred up by the perusal of it to additional entertainment and instruction.

We close this notice with our hearty recommendation, and an example of the author's manner in deducing and applying practical lessons from the historical materials supplied to him. It is taken from the narrative respecting Hagar.

'Accordingly, the sequel of this part of Abraham's history is sufficiently sad. Viewed merely as a domestic scene, which might be realized in any ordinary household, how true is it to nature, and how emphatic is the warning which it holds out.

‘The jealousies, the heartburnings, and mutual reproaches which we now find disturbing the peace of this pious family are such as might have been anticipated from the course of policy unhappily pursued. That the Egyptian bondmaid so strangely and suddenly honoured, taken out of her due place and station, and admitted to the rank and privileges of a spouse, should forget herself and become high-minded, was precisely such conduct as might have been expected on the part of a slave treated as Hagar was, and having a temper unsubdued, and a mind uninstructed, as Hagar’s probably were. She could not enter into the plan which the heads of the house had formed, or into the reasons and motives which led them to form it. To their servant, if not to themselves, it must have been fraught with a vitiating and corrupting tendency; and assuredly it did prove to her a temptation to insolence and insubordination stronger than she could withstand. Hence Abram and Sarai had the greater sin. There was a cruel want of consideration in what they did. Even if they felt that they were at liberty, so far as they themselves were concerned, to do it, that they were safe in doing it, were they not bound to ask how it might affect their dependant, whom they made a party in the transaction?’

‘Is not this the duty of all heads of families? Alas! how is it discharged? Do parents and masters,—do the heads and members of households among Christians, duly weigh and recognise their responsibility in this particular? Do you,—we might say to them in all affection,—do you, with special reference to this consideration, apply the maxim,—‘all things are lawful unto me, but all things edify not?’

‘You have a system of conventional falsehoods in the intercourse of refined society, by which you do not impose upon one another, for you all know what is meant. But how does the system tell upon your domestics,—your children, perhaps, whom you employ as your assistants,—whom you admit into your confidence,—whom you make prematurely familiar with the hollow insincerity of a smiling world?’

‘Or take your recreations, your amusements, and your gay entertainments. Let it be granted that they do you personally little or no harm; that you can stand the exhaustion of body and the dissipation of mind which they cause. What are your inferiors to think, or how are they to be affected as they see you, week after week, turning night into day,—the early dawn finding you amid the glare and heat of the crowded hall, and the sumptuous feast,—while the hours of their sleepless waiting without have been beguiled with coarser revelry? To you all may seem innocent and fair,—to them, as the inevitable condition of your sport, what temptation is there, what deadly sin!’

‘Even in families less worldly, and more truly serious and devoted, is there enough of care taken to walk circumspectly, and to avoid the very appearance of evil? Ye who are at the head of a pious household, or who make up the holy and happy circle at morning and evening prayers,—do you, in your general conversation, and in all your plans and arrangements, consider the interests of your domestics as well as your own? What you practise in the way of ease or indulgence,—what you propose as a measure of expediency and almost of necessity—may be partly justifiable, so far as you yourselves are concerned, and

with the explanations which you can give. You may be able to make out that it does not altogether discredit your Christian profession or mar your spiritual welfare. Ah! but in what light will this or that scheme of policy, and this or that course of conduct appear to those around you, and under you, whom you must assume into your councils—whom perhaps you use as your instruments or your allies? How will they interpret your occasional omission or your perfunctory discharge of sacred duty; or your rare instances of what you call indispensable conformity to the world. What encouragement may your failings give to their sins? What seeds of evil may thus be sown in their minds? What devout impressions may be effaced—what holy desires quenched—what ungodly passions and worldly lusts fostered and revived?

‘How is it that we have such incessant complaints of the vices and faults to which your inferiors are prone?—of the insolence of servants, their want of attachment, and their want of principle? For how many of these evils are you yourselves responsible? Sarai was provoked by the forwardness of Hagar, and she thought she did well to be angry. She was loud in her reproaches, and even spoke indignantly to her lord. Alas! had she forgotten that all this was but the fruit of her own device; that as she had sown so she reaped.’—pp. 401—404.

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- Art. IX. 1. *A Bill for Regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the Better Education of Children in Factory Districts.* Ordered to be printed, 7th March, 1843.
2. *A Plea for Liberty of Conscience: A Letter to the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart., on the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill.* By John Howard Hinton, M.A. London: Houlston and Stoneman.
3. *Why Not? or, Seven Objections to the Educational Clauses of the Factories Regulation Bill.* By John Howard Hinton. Houlston and Stoneman.
4. *The Bill; or, the Alternative: A Letter to the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart., M.P.* By Henry Dunn. London: Ward and Co.
5. *An Analytical Digest of the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill now before Parliament; with Observations and Objections, to which are added Practical Suggestions to the Opponents of the Bill.* London: James Dinnis.
6. *On the Educational Clauses of the Bill now before the House of Commons, ‘for regulating the employment of children and young persons in Factories, and for the better education of children in Factory districts.’* By W. J. Fox. London: C. Fox.

7. *The Rights of Conscience; an Argument occasioned by the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill.* By Edward Steane, D.D. London: G. and J. Dyer.
8. *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Wharncliffe, Chairman of the Committee of Council on Education, on Sir James Graham's Bill for establishing exclusive Church Schools, built and supported out of the Poor's-rates, and discouraging British Schools and Sunday Schools.* By Edward Baines, Jun. London: T. Ward and Co.
9. *Church Education Considered.* London: G. and J. Dyer.
10. *Twenty Reasons for Petitioning against and otherwise opposing the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill recently introduced to Parliament by Sir James Graham.* By Rev. W. Thorn, Winchester.
11. *Letter to Sir James Graham, Bart., on the Educational Clauses of the Factory Bill; with an Appendix, containing Lord John Russell's Resolutions and Remarks thereon.* By James Cook Evans, Esq. London: Ward.
12. *No Modifications; A Letter, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell.* By Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D. London: Ward.

WE live in times wherein the elements of good and evil are strangely blended. Viewed under some aspects they are full of promise, and under others, are ominous of evil. They are hopeful or alarming, indicative of advancement or of retrogression, accordingly as they are regarded on a wider or a narrower scale. Severed from the past, they awaken apprehension and dread, but if interpreted by its records, if read in connexion with the lessons those records inculcate, they will be regarded only as the momentary recoil of a vast tide whose waters are steadily advancing. For some years past the principles of religious liberty have been making steady progress amongst us. They have won converts from every class, and have been adopted, at least in their phraseology, by their old and hereditary opponents. The great mass of the more thoughtful and religious part of our countrymen have become their intelligent advocates, and the consequence has been, the erasure from our statute books of some of those laws which the intolerant bigotry of a former age had passed. Catholic emancipation announced the turn of the tide, and in connexion with the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, gave promise of equal civil rights, irrespective of religious opinions, to all classes of British subjects. From that period the progress of religious liberty has been favoured alike by the growing intelligence of the age and the political changes which we have lived to witness; and the consequence has been a general conviction of its having struck its roots so deeply into the hearts of the people as to ensure its perpetual

safety. It may be, that in the simplicity of our faith we have overlooked some of the counteracting influences which are yet in operation. We have calculated, perhaps credulously so, on the steadiness of the movement, on its unchecked progress, on the silent acquiescence of foes, and the gradual, but certain unfolding of the public mind to the purer and nobler influences with which religious liberty is fraught. A larger knowledge of history, a more heedful regard to the lessons taught by the struggles and reverses of our fathers, would have guarded effectually against all such expectations, and have exempted us from the bitter disappointment which the present measure has in some quarters inflicted.

The history of our country is full of instruction on this point. At no period has the onward movement continued unchecked during any extended series of years. The English mind is eminently practical, not far-sighted. It acts under the impulse of existing grievance, seeks relief from present evil, and is in consequence disposed, when its immediate object is attained, to remit exertion, and to indulge itself in repose. There has been, however, permanent progression in connexion with temporary defeats,—the steady advancement of the national intellect in knowledge and liberality, notwithstanding occasional outbreaks of intolerance and bigotry. The times of the Commonwealth were succeeded by the Restoration, when piety was placed under an interdict, and conscience was laughed to scorn. The principles which had been evolved from the struggles of the civil war were suppressed by the duplicity of priests and the iron sway of Clarendon, and it might well have been concluded by the observer of passing events, that they were destined to a long, if not an eternal eclipse. A momentary resurrection, however, was effected even during the reign of the second Charles, but the public mind had not sufficiently recovered itself, and the blood of Russell and Sydney, in consequence, paved the way for the unrelieved bigotry of James. A speedy reaction, however, ensued. The infatuated monarch, before whom protestant bishops and a protestant university had preached the doctrine of passive obedience, touched the temporalities of the church, and these holy fathers forgot instantly their professions, and adopted for the hour the phraseology of freemen. The revolution of 1688, which followed, rescued our liberties, civil and religious, from the grasp of the brutal tyrant, and promised a more permanent form to liberty; but not many years elapsed before the nation was cursed by the dotage of Anne and the frenzy of a Sacheverel mob. In later times we have witnessed similar reactions, and need not therefore be alarmed at the events which are now passing before us. Exhausted by the efforts which carried the Reform Bill,

and disappointed at the timid and vacillating policy of Whig ministers, the public mind has sunk into repose,—has lost much of its fervour,—has been divested, in appearance at least, of its former resolution and purpose. It is but in the natural course of things that the oppressors of conscience and the enemies of liberty should take advantage of this interval. Knowing that their time is short, they have bestirred themselves vigorously for its improvement, and we see the result. Their active bigotry has brought on a crisis, perhaps prematurely for themselves, and we know little of our countrymen if it does not search deeply into their hearts. Other things might have been borne with, patiently,—nay, criminally borne with, but the invasion of religious liberty, the violence done to conscience, is an unpardonable sin, which must arouse the timid as well as the bold, and call forth into stern and indomitable resistance those principles of action before which the chicanery of politicians and the combinations of party are but folly and weakness. The elements which were previously feeble, because scattered, have thus been brought into combination, and who shall estimate their power?

Sir James Graham's Bill, which has given occasion to these remarks, has done more to arouse dissenters, and to place them in their proper attitude, than anything which has occurred since Lord Sidmouth's abortive effort to cripple their ministry. This bill was ushered into parliament by a speech as delusive as statesman ever delivered. 'All party or religious differences' were to be laid aside, in order that some neutral ground might be found upon which—'a due regard being paid to the just wishes of the established church on the one hand, and to the honest scruples of dissenters on the other'—a scheme of national education might be built up. 'There was no party or personal feeling,' remarked Sir James, 'that would not be gladly surrendered by him if he could but hope that he would be the humble instrument of proposing to the House anything approaching to a scheme which would lead to so desirable a consummation.' Such was the language, such were the professions, with which one of Her Majesty's secretaries of state deemed it befitting to introduce a measure, the main features of which are in open hostility to the rights of conscience, and whose details evidence a bigotry as blind and rancorous as would have suited the ministers of a Stuart. So completely was the House entrapped by the liberal professions of the right honourable baronet, that Lord John Russell, while reserving his opinion on the details of the bill, affirmed, 'it would not only be folly, it would be absolute wickedness, to oppose it,' and other members on both sides of the House hailed the measure as at once comprehensive and satisfactory. So palpable, indeed, is the discrepancy between the

speech and the bill, that it is impossible to relieve the Home Secretary from the charge of gross ignorance, or of intentional misrepresentation. He either did not know the provisions and spirit of the measure, or knowing them, he misled the House in order to facilitate its introduction. We must leave our readers to adopt which alternative they please. It is enough for our purpose to note the discrepancy, which is of an order characteristic of the present tactics of the Tory party. It is no solitary instance this, of intolerance, seeking to veil itself under the disguise of liberal professions. The obvious design was to force the bill rapidly through the House, without drawing attention to its educational clauses. This, however, has happily been prevented by the vigilance of the dissenting body, and it remains to be seen whether the government will persist in a measure against which so strong and general a protest has been uttered. The suspicious manner in which the bill was introduced is ably exposed by Mr. Evans in his stringent, and for the most part admirable pamphlet.

‘In the first place I hear it objected on every side, *that it was brought forward in a most unfair manner, as the remedy for an evil which was greatly exaggerated.* You, Sir James, had been for some time intending to bring forward this very bill. It was already prepared, and was ready to be laid upon the table of the House. You had it in your pocket; but instead of coming forward in the usual way, and stating the provisions of the bill, you waited until my Lord Ashley, a most amiable and benevolent man, had brought forward his statement respecting the manufacturing districts. This statement, highly coloured as it was, and holding forth to the view of the House of Commons *all* the ignorance, *all* the irreligion, *all* the vice, and *all* the moral depravity of every kind existing in those districts, but picturing *none* of the knowledge, *none* of the virtue, *none* of the piety, and *none* of the goodness of every kind which exists there in a much higher degree than in some other parts of the kingdom,—such a statement was naturally calculated to excite the feelings of the House of Commons and of the country, and to create the momentary belief that *any* remedy for such a state of things would be most welcome. At such a time, did you, Sir James, rise and propound your remedy for this disease in that part of the body politic. No doubt, Sir, you thought your strategy most excellent; but let me remind you that such stratagems, however successful they may at first appear, usually defeat themselves. However bad those districts may seem to be, when only the *dark portions* of the picture are made visible, we well know that the large manufacturing towns are the seats of industry, intelligence, virtue, and religion. We know that, if a fair estimate be made, they do not yield to London itself, the ancient Metropolis of the empire, the residence of the Court, the seat of the wealthiest Aristocracy in the world, and the abode of the Hierarchy for half the year. Why,

then, should Manchester and Leeds be so blackened with infamy? Oh, if Lord Ashley had so great an appetite for picturing vice, why did he travel so far as Manchester? Is there not enough in London, not enough in Westminster? He might have indulged his appetite without stint in the very vicinity of the House of Commons. He might have described to them the precincts of Westminster Abbey; and where that Abbey casts its shadow on the dense mass of human vice and misery before it, he might have found more to excite the compassion of the House than even in the most abject parts of Manchester. He might have found a more vicious population, more houses of ill-fame and black repute than in any other place in the whole kingdom; and that, too, on the estates of the established church itself, the land of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who, while they make it a condition in all their leases that no worship not according to the rites of the established church shall be celebrated on their property, do yet connive at, and willingly permit the existence of resorts of infamy, to which it is believed no spot of equal size in the whole world can present a parallel. There is a saying, Sir, which appears almost to be forgotten by some parties, that 'Charity begins at home;' and another, that 'Justice begins at home.' How then can we explain the fact, that Lord Ashley journeyed to Manchester to picture vice, and you to prescribe for it? I will tell you, Sir James, how I have heard this difficulty explained. It is said, and I believe with perfect truth, that *here*, in Westminster, the *church* reigns; that in Manchester, *dissent* has in great part remedied the defects of the establishment; and that your bill is intended, not so much to correct *Ignorance*, as *Nonconformity*,—not so much to destroy *Vice*, as *Dissent*.—p. 4.

Considerable differences of opinion exist, even amongst dissenters, respecting the propriety of government interfering to any extent, or in any mode, in the matter of education. The question is a large one undoubtedly, demanding grave consideration, and not to be hastily dispatched. It is a fearful alternative to which we are left by the negative proposition; yet by that negative we are prepared to abide. It appears to us, after much consideration of the matter, to be the only one which consists with the legitimate functions of government; and to be most conducive, viewed on the large scale, to the welfare of the community. We admit the ignorance which prevails, and the obligation which rests upon us to attempt its removal. There is no difference on these points, and it is both paltry and unprincipled in our opponents to allege the contrary. The question at issue respects simply the mode in which such removal shall be attempted; and the more distinctly this is kept in mind, the more certainly shall we arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

The province of government respects simply the persons and property of its subjects. The protection of these constitutes its legitimate objects, and is clearly enforced by the very nature of

the relation subsisting. To the obligations resulting from that relation there must be some limit. They cannot be indefinite, nor are they unintelligible. They are fixed and immutable; not admitting, on the one hand, of diminution at the bidding of an incapable and slothful government, nor on the other, of being extended to meet the views and accomplish the design of a misjudging and despotic one. If permitted to prevail beyond the limits we have stated, where are their bounds to be fixed? If government be warranted to interfere with one branch of parental duty—we are now speaking, be it remembered, of *secular* education only—why not with another? If it may take upon itself to force the parent to send his child to the school, why not to the workshop? If it may guard against ignorance on account of the evils which flow from it, why not against indolence, from which equal, if not greater vices flow? But enough of this: we have so much yet before us, that we must reluctantly refrain from following out this branch of our subject.

Mr. Fox, in whose pamphlet there is much acute and able reasoning, not only admits the propriety of government's interference, but "does not object to the principle of compulsory education." He maintains that "the child has a moral right to instruction," and that "to keep it in ignorance is an abuse of parental power, not less gross than the physical injuries which law has long since interposed to restrain." The right of the child and the failure of duty on the part of the parent, in the case supposed, we admit; but the parallel instituted we deny. If the *right* of the child, not being met by the parent, justifies the interference of government in the matter of education, then what bounds are to be set to its interposition? The child is equally entitled, to say the least, to *religious* instruction; he ought to be trained up in the ways of piety, to be taken to the house of worship, to be taught the character of the Divine government, the import of its revelations, and the nature of its rewards and punishments. To keep him in ignorance of these "is an abuse of parental power," from which far more serious evils flow than from ignorance of mere *secular* knowledge. Are we then prepared to maintain—is Mr. Fox, we ask, prepared to maintain, that government should interpose, in this case, to supply what the parent has failed to communicate? We see no other alternative than the extension or the abandonment of his argument. If sound in the one case, it is equally so in the other; if inadmissible in the matter of religion, whatever appearance of force it has in that of education, must be illusive. But he further urges, that "society has so deep an interest in the qualification of its members to discharge their duties and improve their advantages, that the propriety of its (the government's) interference is obvious." To this we

reply, that whatever there is in secular education to qualify for the discharge of duty, there is much more in religious; and that, therefore, if it be sound in the former case to reason from such tendency to the propriety of government interference, greatly more so is it in the latter. Society is far more deeply interested in the religious than in the secular instruction of the young; yet who amongst us would admit the propriety of enforcing, by a penalty, the communication of Scripture history or doctrines.

But Mr. Fox's argument leads on to another, and, in our judgment, most weighty objection to any government being entrusted with the education of the people. So far from society being benefited thereby, it is our deliberate and solemn conviction, that its highest interests are fearfully jeopardized—that an amount of influence is thereby conceded to government, which no friend of popular liberty should contemplate without alarm—that a new and more potent element than any we have hitherto known, is thereby introduced, which must materially affect the relation of the parties, and give to the governor over the governed an all but omnipotent sway. It is no trifling thing to commit to any hands the moulding of the minds of men. An immense power is thus communicated, the tendency of which will be in exact accordance with the spirit and policy of those who use it. Governments, it is well known, are conservative. The tendency of official life is notorious, and it is the height of folly, the mere vapouring of credulity, to imagine that the educational system, if entrusted to the minister of the day, will not be employed to diffuse amongst the rising generation, that spirit and those views which are most friendly to his policy. By having, virtually, at his command, the whole machinery of education, he will cover the land with a new class of officials, whose dependence on his patronage will render them the ready instruments of his pleasure. One class of officials already exist in the parochial clergy, and the direction of their influence is notorious. In almost every parish they are known as the active agents of tory partizanship; and why should we expect a different result in the case of that class which it is now proposed to institute. In some respects we fear the results would be more fearful. They might not be so immediate; they would not for a time be so apparent; but, as youth is more pliable than manhood, and the schoolmaster is more continuously with his charge than the clergyman, we fear that the ultimate consequences would be more fatal. Government influence, the spirit of toryism to which it so commonly gives rise, would be brought into contact with the human mind at its most susceptible age, and could scarcely fail to produce an emasculated and servile generation, possessed, it

may be, of the simpler elements of knowledge, but destitute of the free spirit and brave thoughts which constitute the noblest heritage of man. We marvel much that our liberal politicians do not perceive this danger, or that perceiving it, they do not join heart and soul in resistance to a measure which threatens such evils. It has hitherto been matter of solicitude with the advocates of freedom to limit rather than to strengthen the prerogatives of the Crown—to add weight to the popular rather than to the monarchical branch of the constitution,—to protect the popular intellect and will from the minister of the day, rather than to subject their earliest and most plastic movements to his pleasure. There is a tendency in power as in wealth, to increase itself. It has means at its command, the legitimate use of which cannot fail to multiply its worshippers, and thus strengthen its own position. Hence, tyranny has, in many cases, grown out of the simpler and least objectionable forms of sovereignty. Its earlier stages were sustained by crime; its development was slow, but steady. There was nothing to alarm, nothing to arouse suspicion, but it gradually grew and swelled until its portentous form defied opposition, and overshadowed all that was noble and generous in the land. It has been the special vocation of our noblest senators—the men, whose memory constitutes our pride and glory—to counteract this tendency. Aware of its existence, they have sought to raise up barriers against its encroachments, and have placed their fullest confidence on the healthful independence and free respiration of the public mind. But what confidence can be felt, what hope entertained, if the fountain whence our children drink be committed to the keeping of power, if its waters be tampered with by government officials, and its healthful qualities destroyed—as will inevitably in such case ensue—by the infusion of deleterious, if not poisonous drugs. Yet so infatuated are our statesmen—if statesmen they may be called—that in the face of all these dangers, and at the hazard of everything which Englishmen should hold dear, they are loud in their demand for a system, the establishment of which would be the knell of English freedom, by the fearful addition it must make to the already overgrown prerogatives of the Crown.

The consequences of such a system are visible in Europe, and they confirm our worst fears. The military despotism of Prussia is mainly upheld at the present day by its educational system. The national intellect is there held in bondage, everything is stereotyped after the fashion of the court, and freedom vainly seeks for itself an utterance amidst the servile crowd which this system has trained to manhood. But even this precedent, landed as it has been by the advocates of compulsory education, is outstripped by our government measure,

which 'compels everything about education, but does not compel education itself; restrains, wherever restraint is needlessly offensive; is lax only where it would be useful; and has all the odiousness of Prussian compulsion, without its impartiality, without its liberty of choice, without its adaptation to religious differences, and without its security for the actual result.'*

We are, of course, aware that the full force of this objection will not be felt at first. It applies rather to the tendencies of a government system, than to the specific form which that system may originally bear. Some concession will at first be made, some safeguards from ministerial influence be proposed, some measure of popular control be conceded; but once admit the principle, and the centralizing tendencies of this age will soon vest in the minister of the day all real and substantial power. The concession will be limited and temporary, whilst the extension of power, the growth of government influence, will be advancing and permanent. The necessities of the case will be pleaded in justification of the encroachments made, and at each step of the process the opposition will become more feeble. The case, as it at present exists, is a simple one, and may be easily dealt with, but hereafter it will be complicated by a thousand considerations serving to perplex the judgment and to divide the forces of opponents. Here, then, we should take our stand—firmly and fearlessly take it—unmoved on the one hand by the seductions of pecuniary aid, and unalarmed on the other by the fearful evils which flow from popular ignorance.

Hitherto we have treated this question in its secular bearings only, but it has other and higher relations, which must not be passed over, and from which our strongest objections are drawn. Every scheme hitherto propounded has been more or less of a religious complexion, and the measure now before parliament and the country is emphatically of this kind. To such an extent, indeed, is this the case, that, as is remarked by the author of the admirable *Analytical Digest*, on the subject of *secular* instruction, 'the bill does not contain a single word; nor does it afford any security that *any* instruction will be given beyond the catechism and liturgy of the established church, and whatever else of religious instruction the clerical trustee may give or direct to be given.'

The religious—understanding by that term the distinctive tenets and spirit of the hierarchy—is clearly the paramount object of the measure. This is perfectly natural—harmonizes most exactly with the sentiments of its framers, and is most pertinent to their design. They have no high estimate of educa-

* Fox, p. 7.

tion as such; they care not one whit about it; they have been, as a party, its sworn and inveterate opponents, and only now, at the eleventh hour, are induced to come forward as its advocates, in the hope of converting its machinery into another buttress of their tottering church. This design is conspicuous throughout every part of the educational clauses of their bill, so as to rivet the attention of all parties, and to have awakened a resistance more simultaneous and powerful than anything which modern dissent had previously exhibited. Hence arises a grave question, involving the first elements of religious freedom, and, by necessary implication, the whole principle of an established church. Now, we contend that the religious education of children lies without the province of government—that it is not included within its commission—and cannot be attempted in any form, or to any extent, without hazarding a thousand-fold more evil than it accomplishes good. Government has nothing more to do with the religious training of children than with that of adults, and is as much open to rebuke in the former as in the latter case, for a profane intrusion into a province too spiritual for its gross appliances, and too holy for its secular bearing. Dr. Steane, at the conclusion of his lucid and conclusive *Argument*, has put this case well, when he remarks, ‘It is not, then, as objecting to the religious education of children that we denounce the government plan; but it is first, and mainly, because government cannot interfere with religion, whether in the sanctuary or the schoolroom, without intruding into a province where its voice has no right to be heard, and into which, if it does intrude, it intrudes only to do irreparable mischiefs—to sow dissension, to create strife, to establish a system of favouritism on the one hand, and of oppression on the other; to curtail liberty, to silence reason, to extinguish conscience, and to lay the honour of Christianity in the dust.’

We do not at present advert to the more specific forms of religious training which are instituted by Sir James Graham’s bill. To these we shall briefly advert presently. We refer to religious training, as such, in its more simple and unobjectionable forms, and contend without hesitancy or fear, that it is beside the province of legislation, and cannot be undertaken by it without inflicting incalculable mischief upon religion itself, and doing a wrong to conscience for which nothing can atone. Upon this subject, remarks Mr. Hinton, in his masterly letter to Sir James—

‘I disclaim at the outset all opposition on sectarian grounds. It is true that I am a dissenter; but it is not merely because I am a dissenter that I am aggrieved by the Factories Bill. It may be disagreeable to me to see the religious sect which is wedded to the state acquire by this bill, if it shall become law, a further augmentation of its already

dominant, and, in my opinion, most pernicious influence; but were it not so, and were I on the winning rather than the losing side in this contest for power, I should see the same objections to the bill which I now see, and I trust I should have the manliness as forcibly to urge them. In one word, I plead for neither sect nor party—I plead for CONSCIENCE, and its righteous and inviolable liberty.’—p. 4.

Mr. Hinton has superseded the necessity for our enlarging on this branch of the question, by the compact and conclusive reasoning which he has brought to bear upon it. We have seldom read an argument more complete or overwhelming, more consistent in itself, or more clearly leading to the right conclusion. Fearless of the consequences to which his principles may conduct, he honestly traces them out, states them in broad and perspicuous terms, and abides by them without alarm or hesitancy. The logical consistency of his mind is strikingly shewn in the tenour of his reasoning, and we rejoice both in his honesty and his fearlessness. The following extract, though somewhat too extended for our space, expresses our views so fully that we must transcribe it.

‘I repel this intrusion of the secular power into the sphere of religious duties the more jealously, because it lays a foundation for further interference. It is an opening of the door to a visitor, who, when he has once entered, may busy himself with many more things than that which constituted his first errand.

‘If I sanction the claim of the government to enforce by civil penalties one of my religious duties, I cannot dispute its right to extend its administration to the rest. When I have permitted it to require that I shall religiously educate my children, on what principle could I complain, if it were to enact that I should assemble them daily at family prayer, and take them to chapel on Sundays? To admit the principle of the Factories Bill, would be to lay a basis for acts of parliament regulating my religious treatment of others besides my children, and my religious deportment universally. This kind of interference once allowed, it can stop only at the good pleasure of the intruding party. The fence, which preserved the sacred enclosure of religious duty from unhallowed steps, is thenceforward broken down, and the bulwark of religious liberty is destroyed. Who shall afterwards protect it from aggressions of every kind? There is no safety for this precious and inestimable treasure, but in a steadfast resistance of the first intrusion.

‘I thus lay it down, that, even if this act of legislation finds me a Christian, and willing to do the thing required, it violates the sacred principle of religious liberty in relation to the specific duty enforced, wrests from me the right of private judgment as to the nature and obligations of religion, and breaches the bulwark by which alone my practical liberty as a Christian is defended.

‘This, however, is only one part of the case. Let me now, in the second instance, suppose myself to be, not a Christian—a Jew, for example, or one of those unhappy persons who eschew religion alto-

gether, and denounce it as a gainful fraud—an infidel of some class, a socialist, a deist, or, if you please, an atheist—all of them entities in England. Assuming myself to be such an one, I denounce your educational scheme as a direct practical violation of my conscience. I believe Christianity to consist of a mass of fictions taken advantage of by artful priests, and yet the government requires me to have these hated notions wrought into the mind of my child by education, and subjects me to punishment if I refuse to comply. What is this short of trampling on the rights of my conscience? What is it short of both the spirit and the practice of persecution?

‘I may be told that, in rejecting the Bible, either in whole or in part, I resist the clearest evidence, and that, in denouncing Christianity, I do utter injustice to its character. Perhaps so; but nevertheless, I do reject the Bible, and denounce Christianity, and it is my duty to act according to my views. Thinking as I do, to give a Christian training to my child would be to make myself a traitor to his best interests, as I understand them; and I could not do it without violating some of the most solemn obligations which lie upon me as a parent. Yet this is what you demand of me; and, if I refuse it, you inflict a penalty!

‘For what, then, is it that you punish me? For hypocrisy—for fraud—for neglect of parental duty—for doing injury to my children, or to the community? Far from it. You punish me for conscientiousness—for parental fidelity—for guarding my child, and through him the community, against what I deem pernicious errors!

‘I may further ask, what it is that you wish me to become? You will have me send my children to be taught Christianity, and, if I do, you will reward me by opening to them the channels of remunerative industry. And this while you know that I abhor the Bible as false, and the church as a fraud. That is, you attach a bounty to hypocrisy! You will pay me handsomely for being a knave! You will reward me liberally if I will be a wicked parent, and betray the souls of my children!

‘You tell me, possibly, that it is only religious education you are enforcing, not religion. Only education! Education, more than all things besides, moulds the character and makes the man. You had better require me to bring my children for baptism. The same principle would justify you, and the children would suffer less harm.

‘It may be that you say the penalty is small. I will not condescend to reply to this that the penalty is not small *to me*, or to say that the employment of my children in a factory is their only refuge from starvation. My answer is, in two words, that what renders a penalty galling is not its magnitude, but its injustice; and that the principle which sanctions a small penalty will equally sanction a great one. If you may prevent my children from getting their bread because I will not permit a Christian training to be given them, why may you not, for the same offence, imprison, banish, or execute me?

‘You reply to me, perhaps, that, in this matter, you are right and I am wrong. Ay; and so said the venerable gentlemen of the In-

quisition before you. This has been the invariable plea of the persecutor, throughout the entire history of the world. Many a time has it been written in the blood of martyrs; and the very same principle on which you now impoverish me, would justify you, if you wrote it in mine. All that it means is, that you are determined to think for me, and will not suffer me to think for myself.

‘You might further rejoin to me, that, in holding such sentiments as I avow, you cannot believe me conscientious. Suppose, then, I retaliate, and say that I do not believe you to be conscientious. Certainly I should have the best side in such an argument, for you get much more by your religion than I do by my infidelity. But where would this strife end? Or what could silence a system of crimination which would soon become universal, short of the conclusion that, in such a matter, none of us is entitled to judge another? You say you are conscientious, and it is fit that I should believe you; but why is this more fit, than that you should believe me when I say the same thing?’

‘I re-assert, then, that, since I am not a Christian, a law which compels me to educate my child as a Christian, tramples my conscience in the dust. It prohibits my doing what my judgment dictates, and enforces on me what my judgment condemns. Where then are my conscientious rights? Set at nought by the legislators! Where is my religious liberty? Under the hoofs of an iniquitous law!—pp. 6—10.

If it be within the province of government, as such, to undertake the religious education of children, then it must be equally incumbent on all governments to do so. If it be part of their duty, it must be enforced in all circumstances, and under every possible variety of religious faith. Whether in Britain or Rome, Constantinople or Peking, it must be alike attempted; and as the right of governors is but correlative with the duty of the governed, it will be incumbent on the latter, in all these cases, cheerfully to acquiesce in the will of their rulers. No objector can be tolerated, no dissent allowed, for the obligation is imperative, and submission must be absolute.

‘It may be said,’ observes Mr. Hinton, ‘that those religions are false, while Christianity is true. That is to say, we think so; nothing more. And others think their systems as true as we deem Christianity. Besides, the prevalence of religions, false or true, does not alter principles of government. What is right in one case is right in another, and right in all. And if the possession of the true religion should occasion any difference, it surely ought to make a government so favoured more tenderly alive to the rights of conscience than the rest.

‘The principle may be tested, however, without going abroad. If it be right in the British government to enforce a religious education now, it is difficult to see how it could have been wrong to have done so when the nation was immersed in paganism on the one hand, or in popery on the other. Nor could what is now right become wrong,

of course, if the religion of this country should change—an event far from impossible—and become Romanist, or even pagan, again. In either of these cases, however, the thing meant by religious education will essentially differ from what is now meant by it; and we must conclude, either that it is equally right for a government to insist on the children being made protestants at one time, papists at another, and pagans at a third, or else that it is wrong to meddle with their religious education at all.—p. 12.

We have preferred dwelling the more largely on these general discussions, from the fact of their having received far less notice than they merit. Public attention has been engrossed with the details of the government measure, and the principles which pervade it, and on which, in fact, it is based, have consequently slipped out of view. A host of writers, and speakers by the hundred, have dwelt on the anomalous and intolerant character of its provisions. The public judgment has been pronounced unequivocally on these points, but we regret to acknowledge that there has been a want of distinctness and consistency in the general views advocated. Partial glimpses of the truth have occasionally been visible; but, for the most part, the leaders of the movement have evidently been unprepared to follow out principles to their legitimate conclusions. They have hesitated and talked in equivocal strains, when they ought to have warned off, in terms not admitting of misconstruction, an intruding power. An occasion is now afforded for the dissemination of great and influential principles. The public mind is aroused from its usual torpor, and the seeds of truth, to bear blessed fruit at some future day, may be easily scattered around us. Shall we improve or shall we lose this opportunity? Shall we content ourselves with warding off the threatened evil, and thus leaving ourselves exposed to its recurrence?—or shall we take advantage of our position to enlighten the public mind—to raise up an impregnable barrier of principle—to guard at once our liberty and our religion from their most subtle and dangerous foe? It is in no querulous temper that we propose these inquiries, but in an earnest and deep solicitude to obtain for our views the consideration which they claim. Let them be examined—gravely, candidly, honestly examined—and if their evidence be not conclusive in their favour, let them by all means be rejected. We ask for nothing more than this, and confidently abide the issue.

If the principle of government interference with education be admitted, no form of such interference is open to less objection than that which is set forth in Mr. Dunn's pamphlet, with all the advantages of his practical knowledge, and the lucid order and comprehensive perception of the great question which

are characteristic of his mind. For the reasons, however, already set forth, we are compelled to dissent from the principle on which the greater part of his reasoning is based.

Before closing our remarks, we must briefly advert to the more specific objections which lie against the government measure, in which, however, we are greatly relieved by Mr. Hare's *Analytical Digest* of the bill, which we take this opportunity of *strongly recommending to the early and careful perusal of our readers*. The following summary of objections is taken from Mr. Baynes's Letter to Lord Wharncliffe, one of the earliest and most effective exposures of the nefarious scheme. In the eighth objection, which refers to the constitution of the board of management, Mr. Baynes has omitted to state that the granter of a site on which to erect a school house is constituted a permanent trustee.

' 1st. The bill, *for the first time*, enacts that schools shall be *built and supported*, where any of the great manufactures are carried on, partly out of the *poor's-rate*. *Two-thirds* of the sum required for building a school may be advanced out of *public money*—viz., *one-third* from the Parliamentary grant through the Committee of Council, and *one-third* out of the *poor's-rate*. Whatever deficiency may exist in the means for the *annual support* of the school is also to be paid out of the *poor's-rate*.

' 2nd. The rate-payers are not, directly or indirectly, to have any species of control or influence over the schools, nor any check upon the expenditure.

' 3rd. The bill not only for the first time authorizes the building and maintenance of schools out of the poor's-rate, but it also for the first time places schools, thus paid for out of the public money, *under the control and management of the clergy of the established church*, and with such provisions as would make them *exclusively* church schools.

' 4th. The bill provides no assistance whatever for any other class of schools.

' 5th. It actually *forbids* the *employment* of a child in any manufacture *who does not attend one of these church schools*,—except only that children may attend a National school, a British and Foreign school, or a school within the factory where they work, but only after those schools shall have been reported by an inspector of schools to be 'efficiently conducted' (of which *he* is the sole judge); and it gives no pecuniary aid to such schools.

' 6th. It makes it *unlawful* for factory children to attend any *Wesleyan, Independent, Baptist, or other denominational* day-school.

' 7th. It *enforces* the attendance of the children at the *church* schools, by *penalties* both on the *millowner* and *on the parents*, unless there should be a National or British school in the district, or a school within the factory.

' 8th. The schools to be built and supported out of the poor's-rates are to be under the management of seven trustees; of whom the only permanent one is to be the *clergyman* of the parish,—two others are

to be *churchwardens*, chosen (when there is a greater number of churchwardens than two) *by the clergyman*,—and the remaining four to be annually appointed by the *justices* for the place or division.

‘9th. The *clerical trustee* is to be the permanent chairman of the trustees,—to have a *casting vote*,—to have the *sole and exclusive* superintendence of the *religious* instruction,—to direct the master as to the religious instruction to be given,—to have the *exclusive* selection of the religious books to be used,—to *instruct, catechise, and examine* the children in the principles of their *religion*,—and in all this to be perfectly *IRRESPONSIBLE*,—the inspector of schools being expressly *forbid* even to *inquire* into the religious instruction given, to *examine* the scholars upon it, or to *make any report* thereon, unless he receive authority for that purpose from the archbishop or bishop.

‘10th. The master and his assistants are to be appointed by the *bishop*.

‘11th. The schools are to be *Sunday-schools* as well as day-schools; and the scholars are to attend the *established church* once every Sunday; but with the following *exceptions*—namely, that a child may be exempted from receiving *religious* instruction in the day-school, from attending the school on the Sunday, and from attending the church, if ‘the parent shall *notify* to the master that, *on the ground of religious objection*, he desires such scholar *not* to attend the worship of the church of England,’ or to receive *religious* instruction on week days, or to attend the church school on Sunday.

‘12th. The *church catechism* and such portions of the *liturgy* as the *clergyman* may select, may be taught for *one hour*, out of three, every morning and every afternoon, except to the children whose parents shall object.

‘13th. A millowner having a school within his own premises, is *obliged* to have the *church catechism* and *liturgy* taught *there* to any child being ‘a member of the church of England.’—pp. 4—6.

This is a long and heavy list of charges, each one of which has already been so fully and so repeatedly insisted on, that we shall advert only to two or three which we deem most important.

The bill is compulsory, most stringently compulsory, and is enforced by a pecuniary penalty. It affects alike the child, his parent, and his employer, and enforces its requisition with a rigour which, under the circumstances of the case, is both injurious and cruel. A certificate of regular attendance at one of the schools constituted or recognised by the Act, is needful in order to a child under thirteen years of age obtaining employment, and for such attendance, a sum not exceeding threepence per week may be deducted from his wages. The education provided and thus enforced at the peril of starvation is, be it remembered, not secular only, but religious, so that we have here, as Mr. Hinton remarks, ‘a new edition of the abolished Test Act, revised and enlarged. Formerly, there was a religious test for civil offices of emolument and honour; now

we have a religious test for the commonest occupations—for the factory and the forge, for the counter and the counting-house, for the plough and the sheep-fold, and our glorious condition is, that no man can work unless he has the holy mark in his forehead.'

But again, this religious education is thoroughly sectarian. About this there can be no doubt amongst reasonable men, for the thing glares upon us from every part of the bill. In the *first* place, each school is to be managed by eight trustees, of which four are permanent, the clergyman, with a second vote as chairman, two churchwardens, and the granter of the school-site. So far the sectarian element is unmitigated, for no other than a churchman, and a thorough-going one too, will give land for such a purpose. Then the other four trustees are to be elected annually by the justices at petty session, a body of men of whom it is not too much to say that fewer things will please them more than to insult and depress dissent. *Secondly*, 'the appointment, suspension, or dismissal of the master, or his assistants,' as also 'their remuneration,' are committed absolutely to this sectarian body of trustees, subject only—and let the limitation be well noted—to the approval of the bishop of the diocese '*as respects the competency of such master and his assistants to give the religious instruction required.*' *Thirdly*, the catechism and liturgy of the church—a fruitful source of the grossest and most fatal errors—are to be taught daily; and, *Fourthly*, it is provided that the master shall give 'such other religious instruction' as the *clerical* trustee shall direct; 'the mode in which such religious instruction shall be given being determined, and the selection of the books for that purpose being made, by the *clerical* trustee alone.' Whether, therefore, the management, the mastership, or the instruction imparted, be considered, the sectarian character of the system is alike apparent.

It is alleged, indeed, that no violence is done to conscience in this matter, since provision is made to exempt the children of dissenters from an attendance on those instructions which are appropriate to members of the church; and we have been surprised to find some men amongst ourselves who are credulous enough to imagine that this provision of the bill will adequately meet the requirements of the case. Too honest themselves to evade the clear import of a rule whose authority they recognise, and too little disposed to suspect the sincerity of others, they fondly rely on a security whose whole object is effected when their fears are allayed, and their opposition warded off. The ground of exemption from attendance on catechetical and liturgical instruction is, *religious objection* on the part of the parent. This must be formally preferred, and what candid man can fail,

on reflection, to perceive that in the circumstances of our operatives, very few of them can be expected to hazard the consequences of such a step. The exception is perfectly nugatory; wearing, indeed, the mask of liberality, but in truth adding insult to oppression; cheating with the form of freedom only to accomplish more effectually its sinister and intolerant design. Mr. Fox has ably exposed the delusive character of this provision, and we quote his language for the information of our readers.

‘Who is to decide whether an objection be *‘religious’*? The Bill does not state. The case apparently comes under the plenary authority of the trustees in general, and of the clerical trustee in particular. The objections of many nonconforming and heretical classes may not be deemed religious, but irreligious. Who can regard such an occurrence as improbable, that has observed the manner in which many clergymen, and laymen under their influence, are accustomed to speak of theological opinions differing much from their own standard of orthodoxy? What follows? If the child be admitted as a pupil, and the objection disregarded as not religious, we have a barefaced system—not of compulsory education, but of compulsory proselytism. And if the child be refused admission, not only is instruction refused, but the means of subsistence also; for, by the Bill, *no factory-master can legally give that child employment.** Indeed, the dependence of the poor upon the clergy in things temporal, is yet more complete than this startling fact would indicate. A single trustee may, in the absence of the others, refuse the admission of a child, or order his expulsion.† And at every factory the law is—no school-certificate no employment. Poor families are not to be allowed to earn their bread but by clerical sufferance.

‘In this state of abject dependence, the notifications will doubtless bear a small proportion to the real objections. It would have been so, independently of the new regulations; but much more under their influence. The poor, in factory districts, do not belong to the church; but the wealthy generally do, in all districts. And no disgrace commonly attaches to the exercise of that influence which station and wealth bestow, on behalf of ecclesiastical conformity. Peers are praised in the newspapers for clearing their estates of dissenting schools; and Chapters insert a clause of forfeiture in their leases against dissenting worship. In one direction, at least, persecution has become a recognised right of property. The notification in question will be an offensive overt act, which the poor but prudent nonconformist parent will hesitate to commit. He will often shrink from it. But the shrinking from it will not change his opinion of the church. He will not be reconciled to its doctrines or discipline; he will only be self-abased by his consciousness of cowardice. His children—for children are shrewd in their observance—will learn a fearful lesson; that of the compatibility of inward repugnance with outward sub-

* Clause 17.

† Clause 54.

mission. They will be initiated, for the commencement of their moral training, into the worst corruption of modern society ; they will learn to cant for their convenience. Practically, they will be inoculated with the hypocrisy that doubts or denies, scorns or loathes, what it affects to reverence. The worth of the parent's authority is destroyed, and that of the clergyman's instructions not substituted. The framers of the Bill may contemplate no such results ; but they cannot preclude them, unless the measure be largely modified.

' Suppose the notification made, and the child admitted. The Bill then declares, that ' it shall not be lawful for any person to compel such child to be present ' at the periods of liturgical instruction, ' not to punish, or otherwise molest, such child for not being present.' Gracious words ; but where and what is the definition or the penalty of molestation ? The school may be easily made too hot to hold the child, without any tangible violation of the law. And is there not plenty of molestation according to the law ? It is a molestation that his religion is formally proscribed and prohibited.* The master's comments, or exposition, when he reads the Holy Scriptures to all the children† every day, may be a molestation. There may be plenty of hitting at him, and his parents, and his creed, and his scruples, and his sect, which all will perceive, and he will feel. The very selection of chapters, were they read without comment, might, by a zealous master, be made a molestation. The boy may be pelted with texts ; and texts pelted as hard as paving-stones. The school-books may be full of molestation. Bigotry and intolerance may be evinced in teaching how to spell or to count. Elementary works have been, and perhaps still are, used in ' national schools,' by which this assertion is fully sustained. The daily division of the school, by the test of conformity, is a molestation. The clerical trustee, or his deputy, comes in like a little deity to judgment, and the young sheep are placed at his right, the juvenile goats sent to the left about, and every infant amongst them made to feel, not only the bitterness of sectarian separation, but the dignity of conformity and the degradation of dissent.'—pp. 9—12.

The schools constituted under this act are to be supported partly from the poor's-rates—the rate-payers having, however, no control over them—partly from fees deducted from the wages of the children—partly by voluntary donations, and partly, under certain conditions, by loans of public money. The great stress of the burden will obviously fall on the poor's-rates, which will in consequence become essentially an ecclesiastical assessment, and be liable to the same objections as are preferred against the church-rate. We need not insist at large on this objection, as it was urged by Sir Robert Peel himself on the 12th of February, 1839. It is true he was then in Opposition, and new light has since broken in, but his words are on record, and we adduce them in justification of the ground we take.

* Clause 59.

† Clause 57.

‘ I shall offer (said Sir Robert Peel) the most strenuous opposition in my power to any plan that violates *perfect liberty of education*. I think the noble lord (Lord John Russell) *must not attempt to introduce the system of compulsory assessment into parishes*. Where the dissenters form a great minority, and the rest of the inhabitants of the parish are members of the established church, *I cannot believe* that the principle of compulsory assessment will give satisfaction to the dissenters, or *that they will submit* in cases where the members of the church preponderate in the vestry, to a tax imposed by them for the support of schools. I hope the noble lord will take care *that he does not expose the poor law to unpopularity* on account of any unnecessary interference with education. I, for one, am deeply convinced of the absolute necessity, and of the moral obligation of providing for the education of the people, but *I am, at the same time, perfectly convinced that this can only be done in this country*, where so much religious dissent prevails, *by leaving it to the voluntary exertions of the parties themselves*, and by permitting each to educate his children, as he at present is at liberty to do, in those great principles of faith in which they were born. I cannot help expressing my confident belief that the church of England is now awakened to the absolute necessity, not by force, not by compulsion, *not by interfering, in the slightest degree, with the principles of religious freedom*, but awakened to the absolute necessity of assuming that position which she ought to assume, in constant and cordial co-operation with the landed proprietors and others of the country; and that *the only satisfactory way of having a system of education (which ought to be founded upon the basis of religion) in this country, is for each party to act for themselves, imposing no restriction upon others.*’

Plain men, of unsophisticated judgments, will greatly wonder how the opposition leader, who uttered such sentiments as these in 1839, could in 1843 give the sanction of an administration, of which he was the head, to such a measure as we have been considering.

On the whole, then—for we must bring our remarks to a close—we protest against the bill, the whole bill, and call for its entire abandonment. It admits of no modifications, but must be rejected altogether. Lord John Russell’s resolutions are in many respects as objectionable as the bill itself. They concede to the church all which it *professedly* aims at, but stop short of the gratuitous insults and wrongs which the bill inflicts. We therefore place them at once out of account, and call upon dissenters not to permit their attention to be distracted by them. The real scheme is other than what appears, and it is therefore idle to talk about the evils of ignorance, and the necessity for education, when the object sought is a *preparatory ecclesiastical establishment*, a sort of Church of England Junior. The question at issue, the matter really in debate, is this, and none other, and dissenters

should look it fairly in the face, and take their ground accordingly. It is a church-extension scheme which the government has propounded—a scheme as unscriptural in its tendencies as delusive in its professions, as ruinous to all which is energetic and vital in religious instruction, as it would be found conducive to the propagation of error and the ruin of the souls of men.

Brief Notices.

Baxter's Portrait of the Missionaries, Williams and Moffat.

A critique on works of art is somewhat out of our sphere, yet we cannot, in the present instance, withhold our high commendation of the finished beauty and self-speaking character of the two portraits before us. Such men as Williams and Moffat, are the property of the church universal, and thousands who bear not their name, will rejoice to have these all but speaking likenesses of their noble countenances. The portrait of Moffat is placed on the foreground of an interesting African scene; and in his rear is given a view of a Bechuana parliament, with a chief speaking, in their midst, of the arrival of the Christian teacher; while that of the lamented Martyr of Erromanga represents him as seated in his study, occupied in transcribing the 'Missionary Enterprise.' Of the accuracy of the likenesses there can be no doubt. Those who have once looked upon the countenance of either will instantly recognise it; and the spirit of the portraits is equal to their fidelity. The success of Mr. Baxter's process is clearly established by the force and character, combined with great softness and delicacy, which distinguish these productions of his skill.

A Diamond Latin-English Dictionary; being an Abridgment of The Young Scholar's Latin-English Dictionary. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. London: Longman and Co.

We have on former occasions expressed our high opinion of the value of Mr. Riddle's Latin Dictionary, and need, therefore, do nothing more, at present, than give the following extract from his preface to the neat little pocket volume now before us. 'This Dictionary is designed chiefly as a guide to the meaning and quality of classical Latin words. It offers information necessary for persons who, with greater or less knowledge of the Latin language, may need assistance in ascertaining the force or bearing of a sentence, and it may, perhaps, be found useful as a companion in travelling, or in other cases in which a larger volume would be burdensome or inconvenient. In substance, it is an abridgment of my 'Young Scholar's Latin-English Dictionary' in square duodecimo, and the more 'Complete Dictionary' in octavo.'

Brief Memorials of Departed Saints. By the Rev. J. M. Chapman.
With a Brief Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. J. Baynes;
and Preface, by the Rev. J. Campbell, D.D. London: Dyer.
1842.

The substance of this volume was prepared by the lamented author for publication just previously to his death. His sudden removal has now added the brief memorial of his own life to those of others already compiled by him. They are abridgments of some of those contained in Brooks' 'Lives of the Puritans,' and Burnham's Memorials, with others added from various sources of later date. They are judiciously selected, and arranged with convenience for occasional reading. As a compilation of interesting religious biography the volume is worthy of a place in the cabinet of every devout Christian. Moral and spiritual excellence is cherished by association with the good, and communion with renewed minds, and from the perusal of these 'Memorials of Departed Saints' some may be led to imitate their virtues and to join their company hereafter. We shall be very glad if the sale of this volume tends in any measure to encourage the hearts and relieve the anxieties of the widow and fatherless. To not a few of those who loved and esteemed Mr. Chapman, the most interesting portion of the book will be its appendages. They consist of a memoir of the excellent compiler, which is in itself an interesting specimen of Christian biography, and an affectionate tribute of fraternal regard; an earnest recommendatory preface, by Dr. Campbell; the concluding portion of a sermon by the Rev. W. Robinson, curate of Yeovil, whose sentiments and actions display a genuine catholicity of Christian feeling, which it is delightful to observe; and the last sermon preached by Mr. Chapman himself.

Eminent Holiness essential to an Efficient Ministry. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

We have perused this little volume with satisfaction and thankfulness to God and its author for the powerful and faithful manner in which its subject is treated. The future stability and success of the church of Christ, and with these the brightest hope that can be entertained of the amelioration and increased happiness of man can only be realized, under a gracious Providence, by the spirituality and power of the religious teacher of this and the succeeding age. The earnest student of biblical or theological literature is exposed, in the task that he pursues, to peculiar dangers, and is liable to mistake professional zeal for increased holiness. Mr. Winslow's sermon is adapted to prevent such fearful error, and to set forth, in language worthy of his subject, the responsibility and dangers of the Christian ministry. We could have wished that the text selected as the basis of the discourse had been, in its original application, more clearly in unison with the subject. The substance of these pages was delivered as an address at the opening session of Stepney College. We advise all students for the ministry, and young ministers, to give it an attentive perusal.

Expository Lectures on the First Four Chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, &c. By the Rev. W. Blackley, A.B., Chaplain to Sir R. Hill, Bart., M.P. 1842. London: Hatchard and Son.

The Voice of Christ to the Churches, considered in a Course of Twenty-one Lectures, Expository and Practical, on the Second and Third Chapters of the Book of the Revelation. By Ebenezer Miller, A.M. London: Jackson and Walford.

Expository preaching is the most Scriptural, the most profitable, and in the end the most pleasing form of communicating religious truth. We rejoice in the hope that Christian congregations generally are beginning to apprehend its usefulness, and Christian ministers more carefully and frequently to practise it. Both the above works are expositions of parts of Scripture, and are creditable to the minds and hearts of their authors. The former were delivered in a large school-room, among a rural population; the latter to a church assembling at Rotterdam. They are valuable, interesting, and faithful illustrations of the truths of the word of God.

A Pastor's Memorial to his former Flock; consisting of Sermons and Addresses, the relics of a by-gone Ministry. By John Macdonald, A.M., a Missionary Minister of the Church of Scotland in India, and formerly Pastor of the Scotch Church, River Terrace, Islington. 1842. London: Cotes, Cheapside.

An interesting and affecting volume, full of the simple truths and the benevolent spirit of the gospel. The author left England for Calcutta as a Missionary of the church of Scotland in India, in 1837, and these fragments of his past labours have been compiled and prepared by him in a foreign land, and dedicated, with much affectionate earnestness, to his former charge. The sermons and addresses are principally on subjects connected with the missionary enterprise.

Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands; being Poetical Records of a Visit to the Classic Spots and most Eminent Persons in England, Scotland, and France. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. London: Allman. 1843.

A little book full of benevolence and poetry. The author appears to have visited Europe, especially our own country, not to observe and publish defects, but excellencies. With reference to the responsibility resting on the traveller in publishing the knowledge which he has obtained of foreign countries, she wisely remarks in her preface—'It would seem that an obligation was laid on him not to use the knowledge thus acquired, to embarrass and embroil God's creatures, but to brighten the bands of the nation with a wreath of love.' A beautiful wreath has Mrs. Sigourney woven. We trust that it may serve to strengthen as well as embellish the bands that unite two kindred nations. One flower we will gather, not perhaps because it is the most beautiful,

for there are others equally fair, but because it is easily transferable to our pages. It is inscribed as a sonnet

TO SOUTHEY.

'I thought to see thee in thy lake-girt home,
 Thou of creative soul! I thought with thee
 Amid thy mountain solitudes to roam,
 And hear the voice, whose echoes, wild and free,
 Had strangely thrill'd me, when my life was new,
 With old romantic tales of wondrous lore.
 But ah! they told me that thy mind withdrew
 Into its mystic cell—nor evermore
 Sat on the lip, in fond familiar word,
 Nor through the speaking eye her love repaid
 Whose heart for thee with ceaseless care is stirr'd,
 Both night and day; upon the willow shade
 Her sweet harp hung! They told me, and I wept,
 As on my pilgrim's way o'er England's vales I kept.'

August 28, 1840.

There is many a friendly tribute to English virtue and kindness, and many an affecting incident of travel told in the pleasing numbers of song. The price of this edition places the charming little volume within reach of a large class of readers.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Translated by David Dundas Scott, Esq. With Notes from the Netherlands Edition of the Rev. J. J. Le Roy, of the Dutch Reformed Church. Illustrated with Portraits. Vol. II. Parts 13—24. Glasgow: Blackie and Son.

In reviewing some months ago (June, 1842) the several rival translations of M. D'Aubigné's great work, we had occasion to criticise the merits of the first volume of Mr. Scott's version, and we may content ourselves, therefore, with referring the reader to the judgment there expressed. That article, it may be recollected, was principally occupied with the *third* volume of M. D'Aubigné's work, and with the translation of it which had appeared from the pen of the *first* English translator. Mr. Scott's translation had then only proceeded to the end of *his* first volume, which included about one and a half of the French edition. He has now completed his second volume, which brings up the work to the end of M. D'Aubigné's third volume, the last yet published. The publishers intimate 'that the author's fourth volume is expected shortly to appear,' and 'that when obtained, its translation will be promptly proceeded with by Mr. Scott.' In the above-mentioned article on M. D'Aubigné, we remarked that Mr. Scott's edition was distinguished by two attractive features, which gave it some advantage over its rivals. One is, that it incorporates the notes of the Netherlands Edition of J. J. Le Roy; the other, that it is illustrated by a series of well-engraved portraits of the principal personages who

figured in the scenes of the history it describes. The portraits already given, are those of Luther, Leo X., Ecolampadius, Erasmus, Charles V., Zwingli, Melancthon, Tetzeli, Calvin, Margaret of Valois, The Elector Frederick, and Spalatin. We can only repeat the wish that *all* the translations of this most important work (which was never more needed than at the present crisis) may meet with a sale which may 'repay the industry and justify the outlay of the respective authors and publishers,' though still retaining our formerly expressed opinion 'of the inexpediency of publishing so many translations of the same work.'

A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects, in the World.
By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. Parts I. II. III. London: Longman and Co.

This is one of that series of valuable encyclopædias, published by Messrs. Longman and Co., to one of which we recently called the attention of our readers in an article of some length. We presume that the present work is now completed; we have, however, seen only the first three parts, and can therefore speak only of them; when we have had an opportunity of inspecting the rest, we shall be in a condition to speak of the work at greater length.

The name of Mr. M'Culloch, the laborious editor of the valuable 'Dictionary of Commerce,' is sufficient guarantee that no labour or pains have been spared to ensure accuracy. In the articles which we have examined, we have observed no error of any importance, with a single exception. The type, while clear, is small, thus furnishing a very large amount of matter in a small compass. Great compression has also been employed in the preparation of the articles.

Elements of Geometry: consisting of the first four and the sixth Books of Euclid, chiefly from the text of Dr. Robert Simson, with the Principal Theorems in proportion, and a Course of practical Geometry on the Ground. Also Four Tracts relating to Circles, Planes, and Solids, with one on Spherical Geometry. For the use of the Royal Military College. By John Narrien, F.R.S., and R.A.S., Professor of Mathematics, &c., in the Institution. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1842. pp. 276.

Though primarily designed 'for the use of the Royal Military College,' we are much mistaken if this work will not have a very considerable circulation beyond it, especially when the whole series of works (of which it is, in fact, only a portion, and which, when finished, will furnish a complete course of mathematics) shall be published. Such a course, formed on one plan, of moderate compass, and moderate price, was much needed, and will be most acceptable to very many mathematical students. The 'present treatise' on the Elements of Geometry, forms, we are told in the advertisement, 'the *second* of a

series which is to constitute a general course of mathematics for the use of the gentlemen cadets and the officers in the senior department of the above-mentioned Institution. Whether this means that this treatise is to form the *second* of the series, when completed, although the *first* is not yet published, or that one has already appeared before this, we know not. We presume the former supposition is the true one, as we have seen no portion of the course except the present treatise. The course, when completed, will comprehend the subjects whose titles are subjoined:—I. Arithmetic and Algebra. II. Geometry. III. Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, with Mensuration. IV. Analytical Geometry and the Differential and Integral Calculus, with the properties of the Conic Sections. V. Practical Astronomy and Geodesy. VI. The Principles of Mechanics. VII. Physical Astronomy.

On most of these subjects there are, no doubt, many admirable works already before the public. But the best are far too voluminous and expensive, while many others are either too slight or too profound for the generality of students. But independently of this, we think the advantage is not inconsiderable, of studying these subjects in a systematic course, expounded in a series of works projected and executed under the eye of a single editor. No one who has studied such a *series* (as, for example, Mr. De Morgan's excellent series of works) can be insensible of the advantage of easy reference to what has been already proved, and of familiarity with the author's arrangement, method, and even *style*, (for mathematics has its better and worse *styles*, as well as any other department of literature.)—The present treatise is an excellent commencement of the undertaking. The title page will show how comprehensive is the 'geometry' it teaches. We are happy to find that the principal propositions of Euclid's fifth book (for which Mr. Ivory's 'Tract on Proportion' has been substituted) are given (and with great clearness) in the theorems on proportion, and *geometrically* proved. This is as it should be. An algebraical investigation of these theorems is also appended. The course of practical geometry on the ground, and the portions on solid and spherical geometry, will also, we feel convinced, be regarded as valuable improvements on the ordinary editions of Euclid. We have only to say that the type is clear, the diagrams well executed, and the whole *getting up* admirable.

We shall be curious to see the remaining portions of the projected course, and shall be most happy to be enabled to speak in terms of similar commendation of them, as of this treatise on Geometry. Nothing is more needed than a treatise, neither too full nor too scanty,—elementary enough, but not too elementary,—on analytical geometry and the differential and integral calculus. We could mention many admirable works—as, for example, Mr. Waud's treatise on the former subject, and Mr. De Morgan's elaborate work on the latter, (both published in the Library of Useful Knowledge,) but they are too voluminous and profound for the general student, who can read them to full advantage only after some more limited treatises. Similar observations apply to many other valuable works on these subjects.

Family Essays on the Creation, Preservation, and Government of the Universe, intended for the Evening of every Sunday throughout the Year. Each Essay followed by an appropriate Prayer. Edinburgh: William Whyte. 1842.

A Manual of Devotion for Individuals; or, Selection of Scripture Readings, Hymns, and Prayers, for the Mornings and Evenings of Four Weeks, with Hymns and Prayers for various Occasions. By an Octogenarian. London: Jackson and Walford. 1842.

The first of these publications is a singular combination of religious truth, with the discoveries of science and the facts of history. It is a thick octavo of four hundred pages, printed on good paper and in large type. The essays in it are twenty-six in number. 'The second part will be brought forward as soon as possible, and it is purposed that the whole work shall afterwards be completed by the addition of essays of half the length, for the evenings of the week-days, upon the philosophical and historical subjects alluded to on the foregoing Sunday.' We fear that the essays are too much in the form of philosophical treatises to be popular, and of too superficial a kind to secure the attention of those who have thought of the subjects of which they treat. 'The instilling of truth in an interesting form into the minds of the uninstructed,' which the author proposes as the object of his labours, is a task that requires great simplicity and freshness of manner, as well as an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the truth to be communicated. The author, who enters at some length into the controverted topics of geology, interprets the six days of creation as indefinite periods of time; and, as far as we can understand his meaning, supposes that we are even now living during the seventh. The object is undoubtedly commendable, but there is much want of adaptation in the manner by which it is sought to be accomplished.

The second publication is sufficiently described by its title, and is likely to be very useful to those for whom it is intended.

Pocahontas, and other Poems.

Poems, Religious and Elegiac. By Mrs. L. N. Sigourney. London: Robert Tyas.

The name of Mrs. Sigourney is well known to most of our readers, as a writer both of prose and of poetry; and the two neat volumes before us, forming a general collection of her poetical works, will, we doubt not, be welcome to her numerous admirers. The prevailing characteristics of this lady's poetry are, great delicacy of feeling, graceful diction, and a sweet and easy flow of versification, which, among the general class of readers, goes farther than any other qualification. Most of Mrs. Sigourney's poems are short. In 'Pocahontas,' however, she has attempted one of some length, and has adopted a verse resembling the difficult, but beautiful Spenserian stanza. Although, as a whole,

it seems unfinished, there are detached passages of great spirit; her *forte*, however, lies rather in shorter compositions.

The 'Thoughts at Sea,' with anticipations of 'England, motherland,' of her 'bards of old,' of her memories of other days, her 'old kings and steel-clad knights,' her castles, her cathedrals, are very characteristic; and her enthusiastic address to Wordsworth is as honourable to herself as it must have been gratifying to the poet.

As a writer of religious poetry, Mrs. Sigourney deserves much praise. There is a condensation in some of her lines which contrasts favourably with the wire-drawn style too much adopted by writers on religious subjects, and which may frequently, we think, be traced to the injurious facility with which verses are composed in those popular metres that are mostly used for the purpose. We would recommend especially to Mrs. Sigourney's attention, the longer and more difficult measures of English poetry; not because they are difficult, but because great care and polish, and nice choice of diction, are required in their construction, and in the very labour of composition a condensation is obtained, which is one of the most important requisites, (although in the present day well nigh overlooked) of genuine poetry. We have been struck with this in looking over these two volumes; for while several of the pieces written in the more popular measures are, though flowing and graceful, by far too diffuse, those where the construction of the verse required more care are often characterized, not merely by greater precision, but by far greater force and spirit.

A Memoir of Ebenezer Birrell, late of Stepney College, London.

By his Brother. Second Edition. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

An affectionate tribute to the memory of a deceased brother, written in an admirable spirit, and evidently intended rather to benefit the living than to eulogize the dead. To young men in general, and to ministerial students in particular, it will prove both a pleasing and a useful companion.

The Fall of Man; The Atonement; Divine Influence—Three Lectures recently delivered in Holloway Chapel. By A. J. Morris. London: Jackson and Walford.

These lectures are no ordinary productions, whether regarded as indications of the mental character of their author, or as pulpit expositions of three of the most important doctrines of the divine word. The views taken, as well as the mode in which they are exhibited, are eminently adapted to command the respectful attention, and to minister to the religious improvement of an intelligent people. We congratulate the church at Holloway in having obtained such a pastor, and trust they will prove themselves worthy of the boon, by esteeming him very highly in love for his work's sake. Were our pulpit ministrations generally of the character of these discourses, we should soon perceive a vast improvement in the taste and religious attainments of the people.

The Nursery Rhymes of England, obtained principally from Oral Tradition. Collected and edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. Second Edition. *With Alterations and Additions.* London: John Russell Smith.

The first edition of this work was printed in 1841 for private circulation amongst the members of the *Percy Society*, but a demand for it having arisen on the part of the public, it is now reprinted in an enlarged and improved form. 'It has been the editor's principal object to form as genuine a collection of the old vernacular rhymes of the English nursery as he possibly could, without admitting any very modern compositions, at least none belonging to the present century.' In this object Mr. Halliwell has most happily succeeded, and the result is a volume equally acceptable to the youngest of our children, and to the antiquarian investigator of our literature. Many of the rhymes included in the collection are evidently fragments of old ballads, and thus possess a value apart from their nursery associations. We envy not the sensibility or the intelligence of the man who can throw aside such a volume as too trifling for his inspection, or read it with other feelings than those of deep interest. We confess for ourselves—however incompatible it may be deemed with our grave vocation—that it has renewed with a vividness rarely obtained, some of the earliest and most fondly cherished of our impressions.

Illustrations of Scripture from the Geography, Natural History, and Manners and Customs of the East. By the late Professor George Paxton, D.D. Third Edition. Revised and greatly enlarged. By the Rev. Robert Jamieson—*Geography.* Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son.

This volume completes a very neat, cheap, and greatly improved edition of Professor Paxton's *Illustrations of Scripture*. The edition consists of four volumes, which may be had separately or together. The first volume is devoted to the *Geography*, the second to the *Natural History*, and the third and fourth to the *Manners and Customs* of the East, and the whole bear the marks of a sound and discriminating judgment, habits of accurate and extensive research, together with an enlightened appreciation of the studies pursued. The work passed through two editions during the life of the author, and is now re-issued, with very considerable additions, under the editorship of the Rev. Robert Jamieson. 'The contributions of the editor, in all the three departments of the work, have been considerable; having for many years been a gleaner in this captivating field of study, he has been enabled to introduce all the most important observations and researches that have been communicated to the world, either in books of travels or the transactions of literary societies for the last twenty years, and has thus imparted to the new issue a rich variety and copiousness of illustration, that must render it greatly superior in value and interest to the former editions.' A brief Memoir of the author, by the Rev. Dr. Mitchell, is also prefixed to this edition, and copious indexes, both of *subjects* and of *Scripture passages*, are supplied.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Letters on Puritanism and Nonconformity. By Sir John Bickerton Williams, Knt., LL.D., F.S.A. In one volume, foolscap 8vo.

A Translation of Professor Vinet's Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, and upon the Separation of Church and State, considered with reference to the fulfilment of that duty. By Charles Theodore Jones. In one volume, royal 12mo.

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Letters written during a Journey to Switzerland in the Autumn of 1841. By Mrs. Ashton Yates.

Just Published.

Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P. Edited by his brother, Leonard Horner, Esq., F.R.S. 2 vols.

The Life of a Travelling Physician, including Twenty Years' Wanderings through the greater part of Europe. 3 vols.

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